

Virgil

Aeneid Book VIII

Edited by Keith Maclennan



BLOOMSBURY LATIN TEXTS

B L O O M S B U R Y

Virgil: *Aeneid* VIII

Also available from Bloomsbury:

Ovid, Metamorphoses X, edited by Lee Fratantuono

Pliny the Elder: The Natural History Book VII (with Book VIII 1–34),

edited by Tyler T. Travillian

Virgil: Aeneid I, edited by Keith Maclennan

Virgil: Aeneid IV, edited by Keith Maclennan

Virgil: Aeneid VI, edited by Keith Maclennan

Virgil Aeneid VIII: A Selection, edited by Keith Maclennan

Virgil: *Aeneid* VIII

Edited by Keith Maclennan

Bloomsbury Academic

An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

B L O O M S B U R Y

LONDON • OXFORD • NEW YORK • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

Bloomsbury Academic

An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

50 Bedford Square
London
WC1B 3DP
UK

1385 Broadway
New York
NY 10018
USA

www.bloomsbury.com

**BLOOMSBURY and the Diana logo are trademarks of
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc**

Keith MacLennan 2017

© Keith MacLennan, 2017

Keith MacLennan asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Bloomsbury or the author.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: PB: 978-1-4725-2787-5

ePDF: 978-1-4725-2875-9

ePub: 978-1-4725-2921-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Series: Latin Texts

Cover image © Shield of Achilles (detail), from The Art-Union Scrap Book, Henry G Bohn, London, 1843. (Photo by The Print Collector/Print Collector/Getty Images)

Typeset by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

Contents

Preface	vi
Introduction	1
Preamble: Imminent doom?	1
Crisis in the Roman state	2
Virgil	4
The <i>Aeneid</i>	9
Summary of the <i>Aeneid</i>	18
Book VIII	28
Virgil's style: A practical guide	46
Rhythm, metre	55
Reception	60
Some Further Reading	66
<i>Aeneid</i> VIII: The Latin text	68
Abbreviations	90
Notes on the text	93
Index 1: Literary, Grammatical and Metrical Terms	249
Index 2: Names, etc.	255
Vocabulary	260

Preface

The golden years for *Aeneid* VIII in English were the 1970s, which saw the publication of editions by P. T. Eden (1975), K. W. Gransden (1976) and C. D. Fordyce with J. D. Christie (1977). R. D. Williams's commentary on the whole epic appeared in 1973, continuing the tradition of John Conington, whose edition was completed by Henry Nettleship in 1875, and T. E. Page, whose red Macmillan version appeared over the years 1910–24. So far as I know, VIII has not been the subject of a single-book study since 1977. My own work is very heavily indebted to these predecessors.

The text is, as before, that of Mynors's OCT of 1969 adjusted in that there is much more punctuation, consonant *u* appears as *v*, and accusatives plural in *-is* appear as *-es*. Variant readings are discussed in the notes at 75, 108, 205, 211, 223 and 512, but the only instance where I have departed from his text is in keeping *in* at 588.

I must say a big thank you to John Taylor and James Morwood, who have read large parts of the whole of the manuscript and made many comments, encouraging or censorious. They have saved me from many blunders; the remaining ones can be ascribed only to me. Thanks also to Christopher Tanfield: we worked most enjoyably together on Books viii and x most profitably, to the Fondation Hardt, whose marvellous facilities I enjoyed during the summer of 2015, and to Alice Wright, Lucy Carroll and Grishma Frederic at Bloomsbury, who have put up most patiently with my procrastinations.

Keith Maclennan
Brampton, Carlisle

Introduction

Preamble: Imminent doom?

On 2 September 31 BCE Julius Caesar's posthumously adopted son Octavian, soon to be known as Augustus, defeated the forces of Marcus Antonius and the Egyptian queen Cleopatra in a naval battle at Actium on the west coast of Greece. He thus ensured that there was no longer any effective military opposition to his own rule. The Roman people could think it possible that a century of intermittent civil war was over.

Possible, but by no means certain. Romans might remember that in 83 BCE the dictator Sulla crushed his opponents at the battle of the Colline Gate and set up a new-style republic. They would also remember that Sulla died in 79 BCE and within a year there was war in Italy again. A much closer memory would be that of Julius Caesar, who spent the years 49–45 BCE fighting his Roman enemies in Greece, Africa and Spain only to be murdered in 44 BCE, less than a year after his apparently final victory. They would recall the savage fighting in Italy and elsewhere which had followed Caesar's death, the brutal assaults on persons and property ('proscriptions') by which military campaigns had been financed, the near starvation of 37–36 BCE, and the various false dawns of the late 40s BCE and early 30s BCE, when Octavian and Antonius, in rivalry for the succession to Caesar, appeared to have reached a settlement. Why should even optimists now be hoping for anything better in the long term? Virgil himself in a poem probably composed between 35 and 31 BCE expresses what must have been a universal feeling:

Right and wrong have changed their names. Wars throughout the world, wickedness of every shape. No respect for the farmer. Fields lying in mournful ruin, their occupants carried off. The curved sickle re-cast as an unbending sword. Eastward the Euphrates, westward

Germany mustering war. Cities breaking their own laws to make war upon their neighbour cities. Throughout the world Mars raging unrestrained. (*Georgic* 1.505–11)

And the historian Livy, apparently writing shortly after the events of 31 BCE, put it thus: ‘Until we come to our own era, when our faults and their remedies are alike intolerable’ (*Preface* 9).

Crisis in the Roman state

Res publica, ‘the Republic’, is a pair of words meaning, literally, ‘common property’, with the implication that the state is something in which all share. No state has ever provided equal shares to all; successful states are those which are run in such a way that inequalities are tolerable or tolerated. From its beginning in 510 BCE until the late first century BCE, the Roman Republic had provided and developed a system (senate/elected executives/popular assemblies) which, with some exceptions, had provided such a balance. But as the empire grew to include almost every land with a Mediterranean coast, wealth and power became concentrated in the hands of a few men who used it to compete with each other or to keep down ambitious would-be competitors. By 45 BCE Julius Caesar emerged as the sole winner in this rivalry: a brilliant and ruthless commander who inspired intense loyalty in his troops and in the population of the city of Rome, who were a key part in winning for him the elections to office which he needed. But if he had defeated his rivals for supreme power, he had not – for all his efforts – reconciled his ill-wishers or those who believed, for disinterested or selfish reasons, in *res publica*. They conspired to murder him, and on 15 March 44 BCE they succeeded.

Among those who aimed to fill the consequent power vacuum was Caesar’s eighteen-year-old great nephew Octavius. He was Caesar’s heir under the terms of his will, and, as soon as he could, he went through a process of posthumous adoption so as to become Caesar’s son. This

procedure entitled him to be called 'Caesar Octavianus'. He used only 'Caesar'; we tend (avoiding ambiguity) to call him 'Octavian' until he becomes 'Augustus' in 27 BCE. The name 'Caesar' seemed to be his only advantage. In age, experience and connections he was completely overshadowed by Marcus Antonius, consul for 44 BCE and Caesar's close associate in political and military matters. Octavian seems immediately to have set about his aim of succeeding to Caesar's position and power, and by an astonishing combination of skill, adaptability, opportunism, ruthlessness and luck he achieved his aim. It took him thirteen years to do it, but those thirteen years of preparation were what made peace hold when he imposed it. He took every advantage he could from the memory of Caesar. The formal expression of a Roman's name included that of his father, usually abbreviated. Thus Cicero was 'M.f.' – *Marci filius*. When in January 42 Julius Caesar was named as one of the gods of the Roman state, Octavian made sure that his own name included *Divi f.* – 'son of god'. Not conspicuously talented as a commander, Octavian was fortunate in his friends, notably the practical Marcus Agrippa; there was also the astute Caius Maecenas. Many of the legions in what had been Julius Caesar's army were predisposed to favour his 'son'. Octavian championed their interests with vigour. The term *imperator* was traditionally honorific, awarded to a successful general by his troops in preparation for a triumph. Octavian had the temerity to invent it as a *name* for himself, so that from at latest 38 he was calling himself, most untraditionally, *Imperator Caesar Divi f.*

Disregarded by Antony in 44 BCE, Octavian formed a cynical alliance with his opponents. Civil war in 43 BCE damaged Antony and benefited Octavian to the extent that Antony could no longer ignore him. Changing sides, he joined Antony in brutally crushing opposition at home and defeating the party of Caesar's murderers in Battle at Philippi in Greece (42 BCE). Now, while Antony undertook the repacification of the east, Octavian was left to provide retirement land in Italy for the immense number of soldiers who had fought at Philippi. Civil war broke out again; Octavian's victory was bloody. In 37 and 36 BCE the naval power of Sextus Pompeius, son of Caesar's

most formidable rival, was being used from a base in Sicily to deprive Italy of corn supplies. Agrippa's enormous talents as an engineer and a commander were employed to create a fleet, train it and use it to defeat Sextus. Attention could at last be given to the task of crushing Antony, now based in Alexandria. To Octavian's good fortune, Antony had suffered a serious defeat in his campaign (36 BCE) against the Parthians, Rome's rival empire to the east. This damaged his prestige and resources. Octavian gave him no support, thus forcing him into dependence on the resources of Egypt. Octavian devoted the years following 36 BCE to preparation for a showdown. He established his own military credentials by an invasion of Illyria (Croatia). Agrippa undertook a major regeneration of the city of Rome, while with the aid of Maecenas great efforts were made to secure the political unity of Italy. 'All Italy took a spontaneous oath of loyalty to me and demanded that I should be commander in the war I won at Actium' (RG.25). Nevertheless, it was not a foregone conclusion. Octavian was alarmed enough to feel the need to intimidate the senate by an armed guard at a crucial meeting in 32 BCE. The two consuls and a large number of senators fled to join Antony. For a brief account of the subsequent campaign leading up to Octavian's victory at the Battle of Actium, see the note on 671–713.

Virgil

Virgil was born on 15 October 70 BCE, the year in which the attempt by a previous military dictator, Sulla, to establish a firm settlement broke down. He died in 19 BCE, the year in which Augustus's system reached the nearest thing it ever did to a permanent arrangement. His life neatly covers the years of the so-called Roman Revolution (the phrase acquired currency as the title of Ronald Syme's great history published in 1939). Various accounts have come down to us; they all seem to depend ultimately on a biography written in the early second century BCE by Suetonius, author of the *Lives of the Caesars*. Much of the detail in the

Lives consists of anecdotes evidently created out of passages in Virgil's poetry, and little can be tested against other evidence. Such statements as appear below are, it is hoped, uncontroversial. (A translated version of the *Life* which is attributed to the fourth-century CE scholar Aelius Donatus is printed in Camps pp. 115–20.)

Virgil is said to have been born in northern Italy near Mantua in the valley of the Po. References in *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* confirm familiarity with the region. The *Life* tells us that he grew up at Cremona, completed his education at Milan and came to Rome in about 50 BCE (*Life* 7). He had a property there, but preferred to live in Campania (i.e. the vicinity of Naples) and Sicily (*Life* 13). In one of the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana* (see below) he writes (if it is Virgil) 'I shall set sail for the harbours of the blessed, seeking great Siro's words of wisdom, and shall rescue my life from all care' (*Catalepton* 5.7–9). 'The harbours of the blessed' may very well describe the towns of the Bay of Naples, and 'a life without care' sounds like the sort of Epicurean philosophy Siro may have taught. At Herculaneum, which is one of those towns, there is a villa at which a vast number of carbonized papyrus rolls were discovered in the eighteenth century. These contain many of the works of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, who also appears in Cicero (*de Finibus* ii.119) as an estimable scholar and an associate of Siro. Another Herculaneum text mentions Virgil and three other members of the literary establishment as apparently part of the company there.

At the end of the fourth and last *Georgic* (559–66) Virgil records an important moment in his poetic career, combining it with some rare information about himself.

This is the song I have been writing, in addition to the cultivation of fields and flocks and trees, while great Caesar is thundering in war beside the Euphrates, bringing law in triumph to nations glad to receive it and marking out his own route to Olympus. Throughout this time I, Virgil, have been in the care of sweet Parthenope, prospering in the pursuits of ignoble ease, I who took delight in shepherds' songs, and with the boldness of youth, sang of you, Tityrus, under a spreading beech tree's cover.

The dramatic date of this passage is fixed between late 31 BCE, when Octavian left Alexandria, and early 29 BCE, when he began his slow journey back to Rome. Virgil has been living in 'Parthenope', which is Naples under a literary name. In the first sentence he implies that he has reached the end of the *Georgics*, in the last he quotes the very first line of the *Eclogues*: 'You, Tityrus, under a spreading beech tree's cover (sing of Amaryllis)'. That is to say, the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, taken together, represent a stage of Virgil's career which is now over. Interestingly, he does not refer to any poems before the *Eclogues* – which he might have, given that we have a collection of poems (the *Appendix Vergiliana*) which have all been attributed to Virgil at some time; some of these, it is believed, may in fact be by him. He seems to be dismissing these as *juvenilia*, not worthy of record.

The *Eclogues*, written in 'the boldness of youth', are a collection of ten poems whose chief inspiration was the third-century Syracusan poet Theocritus. Theocritus used the metre of epic verse and a literary dialect intended to suggest the Doric Greek of his native Sicily to present a variety of songs, stories and conversation-pieces. Some of these poems were in the pastoral idiom; it is this aspect which characterizes the *Eclogues*. Indeed Virgil's own name for them seems to have been *Bucolica* – 'pastoral pieces'; the name *Eclogues* ('selections') seems to have arisen from the later practice of giving performances of individual poems. Set in a usually idealized rural 'Arcadian' landscape, the ostensible subject matter is the loves and songs and rivalries of its shepherds and shepherdesses. Virgil's 'boldness' lay, to begin with, in his being the first Latin poet to write in this genre. In the course of writing the collection he developed an Italian Arcadia and found a way to make it express the frightening problems of the times: civil war and land confiscations. Individuals and events are identifiable (the deification of Julius Caesar in 42 BCE, Asinius Pollio's consulship in 40). The period of composition (42–38 BCE?) seems to have seen the collection appear in two different forms, the first commissioned by Pollio, the second, expanded, version with a transparent reference to Octavian as the youthful saviour of *Ecl.* 1.42–5.

The reference to Octavian makes it almost certain that when the *Eclogues* were completed in about 38 BCE Virgil was already a member of a group of writers whom Octavian's associate Maecenas was gathering about him. (Confirmation of this comes in Horace *Satires* ii.6.40f., where Horace, writing around 30 BCE, refers to a time some eight years previously when Virgil had introduced him to Maecenas.)

The ostensible inspiration for Virgil's next project was Homer's near-contemporary Hesiod. Hesiod's poem *Works and Days* offered advice on a variety of topics (721: 'Best not to snap at someone or they'll snap back and worse') but its central themes are recommendations for the arable farmer and an insistence on the moral and practical value of hard work. Poetry as instruction ('didactic verse') appealed to many classical writers, although there is no Greek or Latin word for it as a genre. Usually composed in the hexameter, the metre of epic, it was closely assimilated to epic and, from Virgil's point of view, a good preparation for it. At one level, didactic verse is a challenge: to convert technical information into poetry. At another, instruction may become inspiration, moral and spiritual leadership. Milton, in a sense, makes the supreme aspiration in combining epic – the story of the fall of humanity – with didactic poetry: 'to justify the ways of God to man' (*Paradise Lost* i.26). At the technical end of the spectrum stands the *Phaenomena* of Aratus (third century BCE), a poetic exposition of astronomy, at the moral/philosophical end the writings of the fifth-century BCE Empedocles. Aratus was admired in Rome: Cicero made one translation of the work, and two generations later Germanicus Caesar, nephew of the Emperor Tiberius, made another. Virgil's interest in Aratus is apparent in, for example, *Aeneid* viii.137. A more immediate challenge was presented by Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*, an exposition in six books of Epicurean cosmology and ethics written at some time during the 50s BCE. The poem is written in a style which ranges from brilliantly imaginative to intentionally prosaic, and presents, with great variety and intensity, a huge range of topics and complicated arguments and passages of colourful description. There is a message: believe in no gods and depend on no human institution.

Virgil's response started from Hesiod. His title *Georgica* is a Greek word we can translate 'On Farming'. There already existed one famous prose treatise on farming: *De Re Rustica* by Marcus Cato, a great statesman of the early second century CE. Another was in preparation as Virgil was working on the *Georgics*, by the hugely learned Varro. There is a term 'metaphrast' for those who versify prose treatises. Virgil appears to set himself up as such in his carefully stated programme in i.1–5: 'arable farming; viticulture; sheep and cattle; bees,' and these four topics indeed form the subject matter of the four books. He does use both Cato and Varro, and there are some would-be technical passages like the proper design for a plough (i.169–75). But the poem contains digressions, stories, expansions, summaries, descriptive passages, politics, religion, ethics and other features in an astonishing variety. The plough-passage is immediately followed by what starts as 'the manufacture and care of the threshing floor'; within twenty lines it becomes a philosophical observation about universal decline and decay.

The language is often Lucretian. Given Virgil's Epicurean upbringing one might have expected the message to be Lucretian too. The opposite is the case. Virgil has no systematic response to Lucretius's prescription, but part of his achievement over the *Georgics*, and later the *Aeneid*, is to present the land and history of Italy, and the person and attainments of Augustus as a demonstration of the contrary. The four books of the *Georgics* are a carefully constructed unity. At an apparently trivial level, the reader is reminded to be alert by tiny but evidently significant responsions, such as that the name of Maecenas, the dedicatee, appears at line 2 in both i and iv, and at line 41 in both ii and iii. On a larger scale, the programme is stated at the outset (i.1–4) and wound up at the end (iv.559–60). Octavian is invoked at the beginning (i.24–42) and at the end (iv.560–2), and occupies a significant place in the middle (iii.10–39). The doom-laden description of Italy at the end of Book i is answered by the optimistic reference to Caesar at the end of iv.

The *Georgics* were completed by 29 BCE (see above, p. 6); Virgil is said to have read them to Octavian at his villa at Atella (*Life* 27) near Naples before he returned to Rome from Egypt. If the *Life* is right (25)

in assigning eleven years to composition of the (unfinished) *Aeneid*, work on it will already have begun. By 26 BCE it had become public knowledge that he was working on 'something greater than the *Iliad*' (Propertius ii.34.66). Augustus, away from Italy on campaign, asked for some specimens. Virgil answered 'I keep getting letters from you, and I would gladly send you anything which was worth your reading, but I have embarked on such a task that I think I must have been almost mad to undertake it' (Macrobius *Saturnalia* i.24.11). He is said (*Life* 32) to have read the completed Books ii, iv and vi to the emperor in the presence of his sister Octavia, who was overcome at the reference to the death of her son Marcellus (vi.863–86). Marcellus died in 22 BCE. Three years later Virgil was travelling to Greece and met Augustus on his way back from Syria. Augustus persuaded Virgil to return with him to Italy, but the poet fell ill; he died at Brundisium on 21 September. The purpose of his journey to Greece was said to be revision of the *Aeneid*; he had left instructions to his friends Varius and Tucca (his *Herculeum* companions of many years before) to burn the unfinished poem in the event of his death. In fact Varius, himself a highly distinguished poet, 'made minor improvements', not even including completion of the 57 unfinished lines, and published the poem at Augustus's request (*Life*, 35–41).

The *Aeneid*

(i) Virgil and epic poetry.

At some point in the late 30s BCE Horace imagines himself obliged to combat insomnia by writing satire (*Satires* ii.1.4–12). His disapproving mentor Trebatius urges alternatives: 'Take a swim ... or write about the triumphs of Caesar.' Some years earlier Virgil claims to have been on the point of writing 'about battles and kings' when he was restrained by Apollo himself: 'You are a shepherd, and shepherds should feed their flock up fat, but sing refined and slender songs' (*Ecl.* 6.4f – but see also

the note at the end of this section). The common assumption is that ‘battles and kings’ (i.e. epic poetry) is a high-level genre, other subjects lower. By the time of *Georgic* iii, Virgil seems to be preparing himself for this leap.

I shall bring the Muses down to my home country at Mantua, ... and there I shall build a marble temple. At its centre shall be Caesar: he shall occupy the temple. ... On its doors I shall make, of gold and solid ivory, a battle between the people of the Ganges and the victorious Roman, and here too the Nile with the waves of war. (iii.11...29)

Architectural metaphor is regularly used for poetry, so it is not difficult to read this as the project for a poem. Whether or not Virgil ever did plan a poem of precisely this character, it is interesting to consider how different – and how similar – the Aeneid turned out to be.

The idea that Virgil was rewriting Homer is so engrained in modern readers that we forget that it was not at all obvious that he should. If it was a matter of glorifying the exploits of an individual there was a mass of available models, from Choerilus’s fourth-century BCE work (in Greek) on Alexander the Great to Varro Atacinus’s Latin poem on the exploits of Julius Caesar in Gaul. (Varro was a poet for whom Virgil had some respect, to judge by quotation of him in the *Georgics*, especially i.374–87.) It was a step beyond this to make the poem focus on the foundation of the city of Rome. But city-foundation was another traditional subject of grand poetry. Apollonius of Rhodes (third century) wrote on the foundation of Alexandria. The glorification of national achievements was a related subject. Rhianus of Crete (third century) wrote a number of such poems, about Thessaly, Elis, Messenia. Nearer home, Naevius in the third century had written a poem on the first war against Carthage, and, much more importantly for Virgil, Ennius wrote the *Annales*, a poem originally in fifteen books telling the story of Rome’s development from the fall of Troy until the capture of the Greek city of Ambracia in 189 BCE. Finally, there was the more traditional stuff of epic poetry: narrative of the exploits of the heroes. All the poems mentioned up to now in this paragraph exist only in

scattered fragments or merely in references to a title or an author. But we do have one of the many post-Homeric heroic epics surviving complete: the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes.

Virgil accommodates all these different strands in the *Aeneid*. But he has no time for the Choeriluses and Rhianuses, and with astonishing bravado makes it plain with his first line that he is taking on the master. *Arma virumque cano* ... The first word *arma*, which implies *Iliad*, is left to hang for the length of a book – or perhaps six books. *Virum* picks up *Odyssey* i.1 ἀνδρα, as the correspondence of A.i.3 with *Od.*i.3–4 confirms. Aeneas, then, is Odysseus. But Odysseus is travelling to his old home after victory. Aeneas is seeking a new home after defeat. Virgil uses and upends Homer. And then he returns to him. Over Books vii and viii it becomes clear that Aeneas is not simply seeking a new home, he is returning to the very home which his family left many generations before. As for *arma*, the reference to the *Iliad* emerges slowly. Already in Book i Jupiter foretells a great war in Italy. In Book vi Aeneas, landing in Italy, receives a prophecy from Apollo's priestess at Cumae: there will be great trouble; the war at Troy will be fought again; there is a new Achilles to fight with beside the Tiber (vi.86–90). As the *Iliad* was held to be the greater of the two great poems, so Virgil introduces the second half of his work *maius opus moveo* 'I am beginning a greater task' (vii.45). And as with the *Odyssey*, it does not turn out quite as we expected. In the context of the Sibyl's prophecy, we assume the new Achilles will be the Trojans' enemy Turnus, slighted, like Achilles in the *Iliad*, by the loss of a girl. In the event it is Aeneas who bears the more striking resemblance to Achilles. His absence from the conflict brings near disaster on his people (Book ix = *Il.*viii–xviii), his friend is killed by the enemy champion (Book x = *Il.*xvi), who is himself killed by Aeneas (Book xii = *Il.*xxii).

There is of course no simple equation between *Aeneid* i–vi as *Odyssey* and vii–xii as *Iliad*. *Odyssey* iii–iv, in which Odysseus's son Telemachus visits his father's friends overseas, have their parallel in *Aeneid* VIII, when Aeneas visits Evander. The funeral games for Anchises in Book v reflect those for Patroclus in *Iliad* xxiii. The capture of Troy is only hinted

at in Homer, foretold in the *Iliad*, and narrated in the *Odyssey* only as a vignette from the story of the wooden horse told by Menelaus to Telemachus in iv.271–89. For a detailed narrative Virgil will have based his work on the *Little Iliad* or the *Iliu Persis*, ‘The Sack of Troy’, two of the poems of the mainly lost Epic Cycle. The Camilla episode in Book xi owes something to another, the *Aethiopis*, in which the Amazon queen Penthesilea came to the aid of Troy after the death of Hector.

There is nothing slavish about Virgil’s borrowings. Does the Carthage episode in i–iv represent the Lotus-Eaters (*Od.* ix), a land of dangerously beguiling relaxation, the other-worldly Phaeacians (*Od.* vi–xii) whose city Odysseus admires before he meets the king and his influential queen (cf. *Aen.* i. 418–93), or Calypso’s island, a location on the other side of the world where he is trapped and must be rescued by a god’s intervention? Mercury is sent by Jupiter to deliver a message, as was Hermes by Zeus in *Od.* v.28–147. But what was delivered by Hermes to Calypso as a matter of routine divine postmanship becomes very different when it comes as a stinging rebuke addressed to Aeneas.

Virgil’s encyclopaedic knowledge of literature is always evident and would undoubtedly be very much more so if the great majority of what he could read had not disappeared. In addition to Homer, he is familiar with the early Greek literature of the Homeric hymns (*To Hermes* for the account of Cacus’s stolen cattle) and Hesiod (at least one element of the Shield narrative). A thorough knowledge of the poetry of the Hellenistic period (subsequent to the conquests of Alexander the Great, d. 323 BCE) was necessary for all writers of any ambition in Virgil’s time. Very little remains, but the influence of Apollonius of Rhodes appears in the simile of viii. 20–5 and perhaps in the expression of the hymn to Hercules at 285. The influence of Callimachus, acknowledged as the greatest of the Alexandrian poets, is probably present in Virgil’s highly coloured account of the Cyclopes in Vulcan’s forge (*Aen.* viii.416ff, Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 46–62). For Aratus and Cicero’s translation of him see above p. 7. In Latin there were two patriotic epics available: Naevius’s *Bellum Punicum* and Ennius’s *Annales*. Virgil drew inspiration from Naevius for at least two passages in Book i (Macrobius

vi.2.30), but recollections of Ennius are countless. On Lucretius see above p. 7: Virgil uses him for a grammatical form (*alituum* 27), for a dramatic phrase (2: cf. Lucr. ii.619: *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu*) or for an extended argument (314–32; cf. Lucr.v.925ff.). Of almost all other Roman predecessors such paltry fragments survive that their influence is untraceable. But we do have Catullus's book, and there are reminiscences of it in 19 and 518 (Cat.64.62 and 4). Virgil never names Catullus or some other poets of whom there seem to be memories (Varro Atacinus, p. 10, Grattius line 34); it is reasonable to suppose that there are other such references also to poets whom he does name but of whom we have next to nothing: the highly esteemed Gallus (*Ecl.*10, *passim*), Varius and Cinna (*Ecl.*9.35), Asinius Pollio (alluded to as a tragedian in *Ecl.*8.9–10).

Note: At *Ecl.*6.4, when Apollo deters Virgil from writing grand poetry, he is quoting Callimachus *Aetia* 1.23–4, except that in Callimachus the instruction seems to come to the poet as a general instruction about poetry ('keep it refined'), while in Virgil it is a warning to a particular type of poet not to write particular stuff for which he is unqualified. Callimachus's Apollo, then, is saying 'Never write epic', Virgil's 'Don't write epic – while you are a shepherd.' The distortion would have appealed to Virgil and his contemporaries.

(ii) Aeneas as the proto-founder of Rome.

Aeneas had been part of Roman legend since long before Virgil. The starting point is a passage in Homer (*Il.* xx.293–317). Achilles is about to kill Aeneas on the battlefield, when Poseidon observes first that it is unfair for Aeneas to suffer in a dispute which is not his, when he has always been attentive to the gods, and secondly that it is anyway fated that Aeneas shall survive and that his descendants shall rule over the Trojans. Hera, to whom he has addressed these remarks, says 'Do what you like; I have sworn never to help the Trojans.' Aeneas has previously been rescued in battle by Aphrodite in *Iliad* v.311–17. Here already are four elements of the *Aeneid*: Aeneas's *pietas*, his destiny as

ruler, the hostility of Juno (=Hera) and the protection of his mother Aphrodite (=Venus). He becomes associated with Rome at latest by the third century BCE. (The Sicilian Greek historian Timaeus, whose work ends with the year 264 BCE, seems to have referred to Aeneas's western voyages and to evidence at Rome of Trojan ancestry.) Both Naevius, in his poem *Bellum Punicum* (late third century BCE), and Ennius, in the *Annales* (early second century), make Aeneas Romulus's grandfather. With more attention being devoted by antiquarians to mythological and historical chronology, it became apparent that, with Rome traditionally founded in 753 BCE and the fall of Troy dated to 1183 BCE, a substantial gap between the two needed to be filled. It would also be necessary to accommodate the existing tradition that Rome was founded from Alba Longa in the hills south of Rome, and that the household gods (*penates*) of Rome had their home at Lavinium near the Tiber estuary. It became generally agreed that Aeneas had founded Lavinium, that Alba was founded from Lavinium by Aeneas's son Ascanius, and that Alba was ruled by Aeneas's descendants, of whom Romulus was one.

(iii) Aeneas as Augustus's ancestor.

In i.267–8 Jupiter confers on Ascanius the second name (*cognomen*) of Iulus. In 272–3 he foretells to Venus that the line of Hector will rule in Alba for three hundred years until the birth of Romulus. In i.288 he confirms the descent of the name Iulus to Julius Caesar. He suggests but does not state that this descent is via the previously mentioned 'line of Hector' – which itself is a somewhat misleading phrase, since Hector and Aeneas were no closer than third cousins. In vi.763–5 we discover that these kings will not in fact be Ascanius's descendants; their ancestor will be Silvius, son of Aeneas and Lavinia. Virgil does not explain the line of descent to the Caesars; it is explained by Dionysius of Halicarnassus i.70.3–4. In his account Iulus is not Ascanius himself but Ascanius's son; after Ascanius's death the kingship is conferred, after some dispute, upon Silvius, while Iulus receives 'a certain sacred authority and honour'; it is his descendants who are the Julii. It is not clear where the name Iulus

comes from: in an obscure note on i.267 Servius may be saying that the first reference is to be found in the work *Origines* by the elder Cato (234–149 BCE), or he may be attributing it to one I. (or L.) Caesar. At all events, by 69 BCE Julius Caesar was seeking political profit by the assertion that his family was descended via Iulus and Aeneas from Venus (Suetonius *Julius* 6.1), and in the last years of his life he invested huge sums in the construction of the Forum Iulium, in the centre of Rome, just behind the Senate House at the foot of the Capitol, with its temple of Venus Genetrix: ‘Venus the Foremother’.

(The principal sources for these events are Livy i.1–2, Dionysius of Halicarnassus i.53–6, Diodorus Siculus vii.5–7 – fragments from later narratives.)

(iv) Aeneas, Augustus and Virgil.

Servius states confidently in his introduction to Book i ‘Virgil’s intention is this,’ he says, ‘to imitate Homer and to praise Augustus through his ancestors.’ At one level, this is plain sailing. There are the three great passages which look forward to Augustus by name (see below p. 44 on the Shield). That Augustus took the *Aeneid* as praise seems confirmed by the appearance of Aeneas in conspicuous Augustan monuments such as the Ara Pacis and the Forum of Augustus.

It also seems clear that in at least some respects the character Aeneas foreshadows the historical Augustus, that Aeneas is a ‘type’ of Augustus. Aeneas’s key epithet is *pius*, ‘loyal, dutiful’. It was in loyalty to his ‘father’ that Augustus pursued to the death all those who had been party to Julius Caesar’s murder (*RG* 2). Aeneas was a city-founder. Augustus’s achievement in Rome was regarded as a refoundation of the city, such that there was a party which wished to call him Romulus as being himself a city-founder (Suet.*Aug.*7); Dio (liii.16.6–8) asserts that Augustus was eager to be called Romulus but saw that he would be suspected of aspiring to kingship. Aeneas vowed (vi.69–70) to build a marble temple to Apollo; Augustus (Dio xlix.15.5; *Aen.*viii.720–2) fulfilled the vow. Aeneas, after great suffering and bitter warfare (i.3–4),

brought peace and good order to his people (i.264); for Augustus the victory at Actium marked a similar conclusion to a long struggle.

But if Aeneas is to be in some ways identified with Augustus, there are many aspects of the *Aeneid* which seem to reflect upon him in a way not wholly consistent with Servius's confidence. He is prone to give way to rage (ii.316f., xii.946) and despair (ii.667, 749). Dejected and indecisive, he loses sight of his mission and, once reminded of it, behaves in a less than straightforward way, speaking out only when Dido forces him to, and abandoning her to her death (iv). He approaches Evander with very misleading arguments (viii.127–51). Irrespective of Aeneas's own personality, his actions bring death, misery or both to Evander, Pallas, Latinus, Amata, Turnus and, it is arguable, Lavinia too.

In response to this, one can very well say that it is carrying an argument much too far to suggest that, if Aeneas's mission foreshadows Augustus, everything said about Aeneas must be true of Augustus also. Julius Caesar is Augustus's immediate predecessor, a member of the family predestined by the gods to bring universal empire to Rome and peace to the world. Caesar is no paragon, as is made clear in vi.832–3. There is no reason why we should regard Aeneas as such, or why everything Aeneas does should reflect on Augustus.

If this is all there is to be said, we seem to be left with a hole in the argument. 'Aeneas foreshadows Augustus, if we allow for shortcomings – perhaps arising from a primitive society. *But Augustus made up for it all.*' In all the *Aeneid* there is nothing like such a suggestion of 'Aeneas on the one hand / Augustus on the other'. On the contrary, there are plenty of suggestions that there is a dark side even to Augustan Rome. The gods will inflict grief for their part: Marcellus will die young (vi.862–86). *Furor* (madness/rage) may have been put in chains (i.294–6), but he has not been abolished, only imprisoned. The transient nature of political rule was a commonplace for Virgil in *G.*ii.498 (*peritura regna*; kingdoms doomed to fall), and the idea recurs in the mention of the ruined cities of Saturnia and Janiculum (viii.358). There is enough for us to feel that *imperium sine fine dedi* (I have granted him never-ending rule), Jupiter's promise to Venus in i.279, may have to be taken with a pinch of salt,

like some of the other things he says to her. The uncontrolled rage in which Aeneas kills Turnus reflects the rage of Hercules as he kills Cacus, which, being used to suppress the forces of darkness, seems in turn to foreshadow the defeat of Antony by Augustus. If Augustus was capable of brutal rage, perhaps he does after all share Aeneas's shortcomings. Perhaps, when Aeneas chooses some Latin youths to be sacrificed on Pallas's tomb (x.517–20), Virgil is reminding his readers of the sack of Perusia in 41 BCE, when 'some people write that three hundred men ... were sacrificed [on the orders of Octavian] at the altar of Divine Julius' (Suetonius, *Aug.* 15).

Until the 1950s the predominant reading of Virgil was to see in him the optimistic expression of a new order, in which peace and civilization are diffused under the benevolent sway of a conqueror. This cannot have been unconnected with the wish of European powers to see their own global authority put in a good light. After the Second World War that authority was weakened and its merits questioned. A new view of Virgil developed, in which he is seen to have two voices, a triumphant, imperial one, in which Augustan splendours are celebrated, and a private, questioning one which treats of the misfortunes of those who suffer under the imperial juggernaut. A number of scholars 'The Harvard School' have gone so far as to suggest that the imperial voice is only there for show, and that the real message of the *Aeneid* is a dark one, subversive of the regime which it purports to glorify. Such extreme pessimists, who may be represented by Richard Thomas (*Virgil and the Augustan Reception*, Cambridge 2001), see covert meanings everywhere, for example *aurea condet saecula* (vi.792–3) means to the blinkered Augustan '[Augustus] shall found the golden age', while to the discerning reader it means 'shall put an end to the golden age' (pp. 1–4). Given the approval with which Augustus evidently received the *Aeneid*, such an interpretation requires that he (and no doubt all his entourage) read the poem with a tin ear, and that is fundamentally implausible: Livia, if no one else, would have seen through it. Extreme optimism is equally unconvincing (see p. 70 for discussion of Auden's *Secondary Epic*). Sensitive readers have never doubted that Virgil's view of the human condition

is a dark one: ‘Thou majestic in thy sadness / At the doubtful doom of humankind’ (Tennyson). Extreme pessimists see Virgil as effectively writing two *Aeneids*, one overt and one covert. Optimistic pessimists however (among whom is included the present author) are in a sense more Augustan than the optimists. They do Augustus the credit of thinking him well aware that not everything was perfect in Augustan Rome and conscious of the dubious means he had often pursued in order to reach his goal. They also hold that items on the debit side of the Augustan account do not take priority over, or cancel out, items on the other side. Insofar as Virgil touched on the darker side, and he never does so more than implicitly, his words seem to have been acceptable to the emperor. (For a much more extensive discussion of this issue, see S. J. Harrison in ORVA 1–20.)

For all that, our subject is *Aeneid* VIII, a book where the gloomiest pessimist may hold his fire. Each successive episode in this most varied of books carries its own attractive message: the meeting with the river god, the journey upstream, the welcome by Evander, the triumph story of Hercules, the visit to future Rome (how much more engaging to a Roman than even to us!), the conclusive message from the gods, the vivid narrative of the making of the arms and finally the variety and splendour of the Shield. There are moments of shadow, true, but taken as a whole, this part of the epic at least may lead one to feel that the trials can lead to an end which will show that they were worthwhile.

Summary of the *Aeneid*

Book i.

It is getting on for seven years since Troy fell. Aeneas and his men are, it seems, on the last leg of their journey to Italy, setting out cheerfully from the coast of Sicily. Their progress is noted by their greatest enemy, the goddess Juno. She is horrified that the re-establishment of hated Troy in Italy is so close, and fearful of the consequences for her beloved

Carthage. She raises a storm which, even though the sea is almost instantly calmed by Neptune, separates Aeneas's fleet, wrecking some of the ships, separating the rest, and driving Aeneas to the African coast with only seven of his original twenty. Aeneas's mother Venus, seeing this, protests to Jupiter at his apparent failure to help the Trojans as he had promised. Jupiter responds with a prophecy: Aeneas *will* reach Italy, he *will* be the forefather of Rome, and Rome will create a mighty empire under Aeneas's descendant Augustus which will bring peace to the world. Aeneas now, though much distressed, spies out the land and, with the help of his mother, discovers that he is close to Carthage, a city recently founded by Dido. Dido has fled from her native Phoenicia after her husband Sychaeus was murdered for his gold by his brother Pygmalion. Dido recognizes a fellow-exile and, prompted by Jupiter through Mercury, welcomes Aeneas with great kindness, offering him support in his journey or a home in Carthage, whichever he chooses. There is a great feast to celebrate their meeting. But Venus is worried at a possible change of heart from the Carthaginians and thus at the danger they pose to Aeneas. She sends her son Cupid, disguised as Aeneas's son Ascanius, to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas. Late at night, Dido invites Aeneas to tell his story.

Book ii.

Aeneas: 'After ten years of unsuccessful campaigning, the Greeks were helped by the goddess Pallas to build the soldier-filled Horse, which they left on the shore as they pretended to sail home to Greece. We Trojans were bewildered: only the priest Laocoon recognized it for what it was, urging us to destroy it. But a Greek agent called Sinon, claiming to have quarrelled with his countrymen, convinced us that it would be a divine talisman of abiding Trojan superiority if we brought it into the city. When two giant snakes appeared from the sea and killed Laocoon, this was interpreted as punishment for his sacrilege and we were persuaded to wheel the horse into Troy. A feast was held to celebrate our apparent victory, and late at night, as we were off guard,

the men in the horse opened the gates to the returning Greek army. The dead Hector appeared to me in a dream, warning me to take the household gods of Troy and leave. But I was determined to take revenge on the Greeks, and fought futilely until all my supporters were scattered or killed. I witnessed the slaughter of Priam. Then my mother Venus warned me of the danger to my family at home, and I returned there to gather them up. For a while my crippled father refused to come with us, but a sign from heaven made him change his mind and we set off. As we hurried through the darkness, I carrying Anchises and Ascanius following behind, my wife Creusa was separated from us. When I tried to find her, she appeared as a vision and told me to set off for the West; another wife and another kingdom await me there.

Book iii.

In spring I set off with as many companions as I could find. We settled first in Thrace at an ill-omened spot, the site of the tomb of Priam's murdered son Polydorus. Leaving this, we came to Delos, where Apollo instructed us to seek our ancestral motherland. Anchises understood this to be Crete, from where our ancestor Teucer had come to the Troad. But our settlement here was troubled by plague. Then I had a vision of the Penates who commanded me to look for "Italy, the ancient home of Dardanus." At this point Anchises remembered words said by Cassandra: "Make for Hesperia." We now sailed to the west, pausing at the island of the Harpies, monstrous but prophetic creatures who warned us that we would recognize our destination only when hunger forced us to eat our tables. Then we came to Actium in Epirus and were amazed to find that the king there was Priam's prophet son Helenus, now married to Hector's widow Andromache. His words were that we should sail to the west coast of Italy and seek out Apollo's prophetess the Sibyl at Cumae: she would instruct us about the re-founding of Troy. From Epirus we sailed south-west along the coast of Italy, deciding to go round Sicily rather than risk Scylla and Charybdis, monsters of the straits. In Sicily we rescued one of Odysseus's companions, left behind

after the Cyclops episode. On the last leg of our Sicilian journey we put in at Drepanum, where my father died. From there we were, as you know, driven to your land.'

Book iv.

Dido is now irretrievably in love with Aeneas. Her sister Anna urges her to accept this: 'You will persuade him to stay and build up your kingdom.' But all Dido's efforts to get the gods to give her a favourable message fail. Now Juno and Venus make a plot to separate Dido and Aeneas from a hunting party in a storm, forcing them to seek shelter in a cave, where a 'marriage' will take place. Juno sees this as a means of undermining Aeneas's mission, Venus as a cynical means of using Dido in Aeneas's interests. The hunt, storm and 'marriage' take place. But now an African king, Iarbas, who had thought of Dido as his, becomes aware of what is happening. He protests to his father Jupiter, who sends Mercury to remind Aeneas of his obligations. Much upset, Aeneas prepares to depart. Dido is aware of this. She meets his protestation 'I must go' with despair and contempt, and when she sees that she cannot dissuade him, prepares for her own suicide, which she carries out when she sees Aeneas's fleet sail away. Her resentment will be the foundation for the hostility between Rome and Carthage which she prophesies with her dying words.

Book v.

Aeneas lands in Sicily. It is the anniversary of his father's death. He celebrates it with funeral games: a rowing race described in great detail, a running race, a boxing match, an archery contest. To conclude, there is a cavalry display by the boys which anticipates the *Lusus Troiae* of Augustus's day. During this time the Trojan women have been on their own. Juno sends her messenger Iris to persuade them that there has been enough journeying: they should force Aeneas to stop by burning his ships. Some are indeed burnt, but Jupiter sends a rainstorm to

rescue the others. Aeneas is advised first by one of his company and then by his father in a dream to make the best of this by taking only a select company of his people and leaving the remainder to establish the city which will become Segesta, a traditional ally of Rome. His father also instructs Aeneas to employ the assistance of the Sibyl at Cumae to visit him where he now is, in the happy region of the underworld. Now Venus begs Neptune to grant Aeneas safe passage to Italy. He agrees: safe passage for all but one. This 'one' proves to be Aeneas's steersman Palinurus, who is beguiled into falling asleep at the helm: he falls off and is lost at sea.

Book vi.

Aeneas lands at Cumae; he and his men are interrupted in their admiration of the temple's artistic treasures by the appearance of the Sibyl herself, who is prepared to prophesy for Aeneas. 'Yes, you will reach Latium, but there will be fighting as bad as at Troy; Juno will remain your enemy, and "a foreign bride" will be the matter fought over.' Aeneas asks: can he visit his father in the underworld? Yes, says the Sibyl, but only if he has special favour from the gods, which will be shown if he can pluck a golden branch from Persephone's sacred tree. But first he must bury one of his companions – Misenus the trumpeter, who was rash enough to challenge the sea-god Triton to a musical contest. This done, Aeneas seeks out the golden branch, plucks it, and descends into the underworld accompanied by the Sibyl. After a nightmarish walk they reach the Styx; Aeneas is shocked by the distress of the unburied souls who cannot get across. Among these they meet Palinurus, whom the Sibyl scolds sharply when he asks for special passage. Charon the ferryman greets them with suspicion, but is pacified by the branch and ferries them across. On the other side they meet Dido unreconciled, Greek and Trojan fighters, and Aeneas's cousin Deiphobus hideously wounded. The Sibyl takes Aeneas past the gates of Tartarus where the worst sinners are eternally confined: the giants, Tantalus, Theseus and others. Finally, they reach the Woods of the Blessed, where they find musicians and warriors of old; they are

directed into a valley where they meet Anchises considering the long line of his descendants who will become the Roman nobility. Anchises explains how it is that some are reborn and some are privileged to remain forever pure spirit. He identifies many of the future Romans, including Romulus, Augustus and the great conquerors. A distressing finale is made by the sight of young Marcellus, Augustus's nephew, destined for greatness but dead by 22 BCE.

Book vii.

Aeneas now sails north along the coast to the Tiber estuary, which they reach one calm and beautiful morning. Virgil seeks renewed inspiration from the Muse for what is now 'a greater sequence of events, a greater achievement'. He explains. The local land is that of King Latinus. Latinus's daughter Lavinia has been sought by many men, but the leading claimant is Turnus, prince of the Rutuli, supported by Latinus's wife Amata. Portents, however, say that she must marry an outsider. Now Aeneas lands. His people make a meal by heaping other food on their bread, and as they eat this too, Ascanius observes 'We are eating our tables' – the fulfilment of the Harpies' prophecy. Giving thanks, they explore the country and send a delegation to Latinus, who receives them in splendour and welcomes them as the destined outsiders – though anxiously acknowledging the trouble he knows will arise. Juno now, as in Book i, becomes aware of imminent Trojan success. Enraged, she sends the Fury Allecto to break up the friendship of Latins and Trojans. Amata is her first target, who storms in vain protest at Latinus and then takes herself off in a frenzy into the hills, Lavinia with her. Allecto turns to Turnus, who at first mocks her but is then inflicted by her with a wild madness for war. Now she causes a dispute with the Trojans: Ascanius, hunting, shoots the pet stag of the daughter of Tyrrhus, the royal herdsman. A fight ensues, in which several people are killed. The way is open for war, and Latinus abdicates from his authority rather than condone it. Virgil now lists the communities which are sending troops into battle on the Latin side.

Book VIII.

The Latini, under Turnus's command, declare war. Aeneas is visited in a dream by the river god of the Tiber, recommending him to travel upriver to Pallanteum, Evander's city on the site of future Rome, where he will receive an offer of help. There he is welcomed by Evander as a kinsman and invited to join him in celebrating the feast of Hercules. Evander tells Aeneas the story behind the festival: how the city was visited by Hercules and saved from the monster Cacus. In the evening he takes Aeneas round his city (which Virgil from time to time compares with its great successor) to his home. During the night Venus seduces her husband Vulcan into making new armour for Aeneas. Next morning, after an anxious discussion, Evander offers Aeneas some assistance of his own, including his son Pallas, but informs Aeneas that strong support is available to him from the Etruscans, who are only awaiting the arrival of a destined foreign leader to go to war against the Latins and take revenge on their exiled king Mezentius. Near Caere in Etruria Venus gives Aeneas his new armour. The most significant item is a great shield, on which Vulcan has designed a microcosm of Roman history: half the description of it covers the time before Augustus, half is devoted to the Battle of Actium and Augustus's subsequent triple triumph. Aeneas admires the shield without understanding it.

Book ix.

Iris is sent by Juno to point out to Turnus that the Trojan camp is weak in Aeneas's absence: he should attack. But the Trojans show no sign of coming out to fight. Turnus therefore turns on their fleet, which he intends to burn. But the ships were built on Trojan Mount Ida and are therefore under the protection of the Mother Goddess. Long ago she secured for them the privilege that if they reached Italy and were no longer needed, they would be turned into nymphs of the sea. Now there is a voice from heaven: 'The Trojans should not be concerned for their ships' – which break free from their moorings, turn into nymphs, and

depart. Turnus puts his own interpretation on this: the Trojans are now trapped. Night falls, and Ascanius holds an anxious conference with the remaining officers. It is interrupted by young Euryalus and his lover Nisus, who offer to go on a night mission through enemy lines to bring news to Aeneas. They are strongly thanked, and set out from the camp. As they pass through the enemy lines, they kill a number of the sleepers and take their armour. This armour glints in the moonlight and gives them away to a late-arriving detachment of Turnus's men. Euryalus is captured; Nisus's efforts to help him cause both of their deaths. Next day there is a ferocious assault on the Trojan camp, in the course of which Ascanius kills his first enemy, and bravado on the part of the gate guards leads to Turnus getting inside the camp. He himself, instead of opening the gates to his allies, prefers to go on a killing spree, until, with the Trojans about to surround him, he leaps from the rampart into the river and escapes.

Book x.

At a meeting on Olympus, Jupiter protests: 'Why has war broken out in spite of my orders?' Venus indignantly responds: 'All your promises to me are being broken.' Juno answers her: 'None of this would have happened if the Trojans had not forced their way into Latium and demanded the king's daughter for Aeneas.' Jupiter concludes the discussion: he will not favour either party: Destiny must decide. Meanwhile battle rages round the Trojan camp. That night Aeneas is on his way back by sea from Caere, where he had gone to confirm the Etruscan alliance. At dawn he is met by the nymphs, formerly his ships: their leader warns him of the dangerous situation at the camp. As he approaches the land, he is a magnificent sight in his new armour, and, once disembarked, he causes havoc among the enemy. In another part of the field Pallas rallies his Arcadian cavalry who are stumbling in a rocky river bed and leads them on foot against the Rutuli. His triumphant progress is cut short by Turnus: an exchange of spear casts leaves Pallas dead and Turnus triumphantly stripping him of his sword

belt. Rage at Pallas's death now makes Aeneas a terrifying enemy. The camp is relieved; its occupants join the battle. It looks as if time is running out for Turnus, but Jupiter allows Juno to give him a brief respite. She creates a false Aeneas, which Turnus pursues onto one of the ships; when he boards it, Juno casts the ship off and Turnus is carried, furious and humiliated, to his home town of Ardea. Turnus's place on the battlefield is taken by Mezentius, who after a long period of bloody success comes up against Aeneas: he is wounded in the groin. Lausus his son attempts to come to his rescue and is killed. Mezentius, unable to walk, mounts his horse Rhaebus to attack Aeneas; when Rhaebus is killed he accepts his own death with dignity.

Book xi.

Mezentius is buried. Aeneas laments Pallas, whose body is sent back to Pallanteum in a procession which includes young men who are to be sacrificed at his funeral. The Latins appeal for time to bury their dead; Aeneas proposes a duel between himself and Turnus to put an end to the conflict. Turnus's old opponent Drances is effusive in his gratitude to Aeneas. A six-day truce is agreed. At Pallanteum Evander utters his own lament, concluding with his demand that Aeneas kill Turnus in revenge. There are funerals on the Trojan and the Latin sides. Now the embassy from Diomedes returns (Book viii): Diomedes will not take part in a war against Aeneas and recommends the Latins to make peace. Latinus makes his own proposal: to cede territory to the Trojans or, if they wish, to help them make ships to move elsewhere. Drances supports this, putting all the blame for defeat upon Turnus. Turnus responds furiously: 'Why are we giving up when we still have the forces needed to win?' It is announced that Aeneas and his allies are on the move. Turnus breaks off discussions and arms himself for battle. He is met by Camilla who has brought her own huntress-forces to support the Latins. We hear about her origin, and about Diana's promise to avenge her death. Turnus sets up an ambush against Aeneas's troops in a mountain pass. Meanwhile the Etruscans are fiercely attacking Latinus's

city. The defenders are successful with Camilla's support until she is killed by an arrow. Her killer is speedily killed himself, but Turnus is compelled to abandon his ambush and return to relieve the city. Aeneas brings his men safely through the narrows. Night falls.

Book xii.

Turnus now accepts Aeneas's proposal of single combat. Latinus, and now Amata, attempt to dissuade him, but the presence of his beloved Lavinia at this meeting prompts Turnus to insist. He goes to arm himself and nerve himself for battle. Aeneas is doing likewise, but when in the morning the two of them appear for the ceremony which is to prepare for the duel, Turnus is looking weak and dejected. Juno encourages Turnus's sister, the nymph Juturna, to do what she can to protect him. The pre-duel sacrifice is performed and the oaths are taken by Aeneas and Latinus. Now Turnus's evident weakness fills the Latins with pity and resentment. Juturna in disguise provokes them and then sends an omen which prompts the augur Tolumnius to break up the ceremony. Battle ensues, in which Aeneas, who is trying to establish order, receives an arrow in his leg. Turnus embarks on a long series of killings. Efforts to extract the arrow from Aeneas's leg fail, until Venus herself provides a medicine. At last Aeneas goes into battle, with words to Ascanius which sound curiously like a last farewell. He kills his own series of opponents, while Juturna disguises herself as Turnus's charioteer to keep him clear of Aeneas. Aeneas tires of this. He moves to capture and burn the city. Amata kills herself. Turnus comes to his senses, abandons his chariot, and goes to do battle with Aeneas. The battle is a long one, and it is interrupted by a conversation between Jupiter and Juno, in which Juno is reconciled to the Trojans settling in Italy on condition that they are absorbed into the Italian peoples and nothing remains to identify them as Trojans. The way is clear for Turnus to die. Aeneas wounds him in the thigh. He collapses. Aeneas is about to spare his life when he sees Pallas's sword belt. Ablaze with anger, he stabs and kills him.

Book VIII

Book VIII as part of the Aeneid.

The two-part articulation of the *Aeneid* (i–vi ‘*Odyssey*’, vii–xii ‘*Iliad*’) has been discussed (p. 11). A different division, into three groups of four books, also makes sense: (1) i–iv Carthage; (2) v–viii: the journey to Italy, with its climax at the site of Rome; (3) ix–xii: war. (On this tripartite division see Pöschl *Image and Symbol in the Aeneid* 171–2.) A modified version of this is to see the whole of i–viii as a process of preparation. Aeneas’s readiness is demonstrated by his expression of triumphant resolve at 532–40, it is recognized in the presentation of the arms 608–25 and the purpose for which he has been preparing is revealed in the depiction of Augustus on the Shield.

In support of the three-part articulation, there seem to be a number of deliberate contrasts between iv and viii, or between Carthage and Pallanteum. In both of them Aeneas is entertained by a foreign ruler. In Dido’s case the foreignness is genuine and intensifies at the end into hostility, in viii the foreignness is only apparent (Aeneas is returning to his ancestral home) and is resolved in friendship and alliance. Carthage is urban, massive (i.421–9) and opulent (i.695–706); Pallanteum is rustic (viii.360f.), tiny (viii.98f.) and impoverished (viii.100). Book iv leads up to disaster with the Trojans in hurried and stealthy flight from a city in flames (once again – see Book ii). Book VIII leads up to the shield and a display of glory. These contrasts are accompanied by some similarities. Aeneas’s incomprehension of the message conveyed by the shield (viii.730) matches his ignorance as he gazes at the loom of burning Carthage on the horizon astern (v.4–5). Aeneas’s presence at Carthage destroys Dido, totally and literally. Aeneas’s presence at Pallanteum does not yet destroy Evander’s life, but, with the death of Pallas in x, it will, and the parallel is made by viii.584 / iv.391f. And a final contrast: Aeneas’s visit to Pallanteum has the gods’ blessing (viii.35–41), his stay in Carthage does not (iv.223–37).

Book viii is in subject matter the most varied of all the *Aeneid*. Beginning with the gloom of Aeneas alone at night on the riverbank, it concludes with Augustus in the brilliance of his triumph and his temple, surrounded by the nations he has conquered for Rome. There are three major set pieces (Hercules and Cacus, the walk round Rome, the Shield) and several smaller vivid scenes: the upriver journey, the seduction of Vulcan, the manufacture of the arms. There are speeches, there is conversation, song and description. There is a wide range of participants, human, divine and demonic, including King Evander, one of Virgil's most attractively drawn characters, talkative, emotional, proud of his achievements, demanding – and something of an antiquarian. The action of the poem is advanced in the book only by the formation of the alliance with the Etruscans. This, however, is not the chief focus.

There is one major division in the book, at 369, almost exactly half way through, at the only unequivocal day-ending. Night falls, the characters retire to bed and it is as if the stage is empty, indicating an act-division. Act 1, then, has ended with Evander showing his guest the city he has created. Act 2 ends with Augustus in glory in the centre of the same city, which he has re-created. Each act moves towards its conclusion by a similar but not repetitive movement. In the first half Aeneas presents himself as a suppliant before Evander. In the second half Venus makes an ostensibly humble request of her husband Vulcan. In both cases there follows a narrative in which the power of Olympus faces, or uses, forces of gigantic strength. The result in the first case is to deliver to Evander a city which he can rule in peace, in the second to show Aeneas the city towards which his mission is leading him. As a counterpoint to these is a development in Aeneas himself. During the first half he shows himself uncharacteristically elated by the scenes and the stories to which Evander is introducing him (310–12); in the second it is perhaps the influence of the unknown divinity present in as-yet-uncreated Rome which brings him at last to the confident outcry of 532–40. And yet the reader is aware all the time that Aeneas neither knows that Pallanteum is to become the city of his destiny nor understands the illustration of that city when he sees it (*ignarus* 730).

(For other views of the structure of viii, see Brooks Otis, *Virgil, A Study in Civilised Poetry* 330–44, Galinsky *The Hercules-Cacus Episode*, *AJP* 1966, 18–23.)

(i) *The Latini prepare for war* (1–17)

The end of Book vii has been taken up with a catalogue of Italian forces. The first passage of viii restarts the narrative as the Latins prepare for war and attempt to widen its scope by involving the Greek hero Diomedes, now settled at Argyrippa (Arpi) in Apulia. We do not hear the outcome of this diplomacy until xi.100–21, when its failure is reported. But it is an evident parallel to Aeneas's successful mission to the Greek Evander; the events of Venulus's mission frame the first stages of the conflict and the mission's failure leads to a change in the character of the war, as it becomes more Turnus's personal vendetta.

(ii) *Aeneas and Tiberinus* (18–85)

At the end of *Odyssey* v Odysseus, shipwrecked and swimming for his life, reaches an estuary and prays to the river god (445–50), who slackens his current and allows Odysseus to come to land. In xiii he is put sleeping ashore on Ithaca by his Phaeacian friends; on waking, not knowing where he is, he thinks he has been marooned by the Phaeacians. Athena (221) comes to meet him and gives him advice. These may well be the Homeric germs of the narrative here. But the river god Tiberinus has various roles. As the river of Rome, he is the first Roman to address Aeneas. As the great river of central Italy he seems to acknowledge Roman sway over his whole territory. He advises Aeneas to go to Pallanteum and seek help from Evander. He brings to Aeneas the instructions about the portent of the white sow with its thirty young, an important element of the tradition. (See the note following line 46.) The sow is probably represented at the west entrance to the Ara Pacis in Rome (© McManus Images XV); the shrine with two young men probably represents the *Penates populi Romani*, as brought

from Troy by Aeneas. Their home was at Lavinium. One more function for Tiberinus is that he is a counterpart to the Nile who in viii.711–2 receives the defeated Antony and Cleopatra.

(iii) *Pallanteum* (86–183)

The Romans' name for the hill on which Romulus founded his city was *Palātium*; only later did it become *Mons Palatinus*. The original significance of the name is not known: there may be an association with Pales, the pastoral goddess; at any rate the poet Naevius apparently nicknamed it *Bālātium* from *bālāre* 'to bleat' (Varro *Lingua Latina* v.53). The association with the Arcadian exile, King Evander, dates back at least to the mid-second-century BCE historian Cassius Hemina; therefore so does the contrived derivation which connected it with Evander's grandfather Pallas (gen. *Pallantis*) or his Arcadian home town Pallanteion. There is a good deal about the prehistory of this part of Latium in Dionysius. In his work Evander is said to arrive in Italy in the sixtieth year before the Trojan war (i.31), which is consistent with the description *obsitus aevo* (viii.307). He is king at the time of Hercules's visit and his fight with Cacus (i.31). There is also much about the arrival of Aeneas, the prodigy of the sow (i.57), Aeneas's marriage with Lavinia and foundation of Lavinium (i.59). But there is no mention of Aeneas having any dealings with Evander. This is evidently Virgil's addition to the story; it is not difficult to see why it suited him to make it. It brings Aeneas to the very site of Rome, where he can unwittingly draw inspiration from foreshadowed future glories. It is an opportunity for Virgil to have Aeneas engaging in a celebration which could be brought into close association with Augustus. It allows him to refashion the character of Pallas, who in the tradition appears to be a son of Hercules and Evander's (!) daughter Lavinia. He died young (Dionysius i.43.2), the cause unexplained. In *Aeneid* VIII he becomes an instance of those Virgilian individuals for whom great and glorious events have tragic consequences.

Aeneas's journey to Pallanteum has echoes of *Odyssey* ii and iii, when Odysseus's son Telemachus makes a night journey from Ithaca to

Pylos to seek news of his missing father from Nestor. Evander himself is a Nestor-like character, aged, good-hearted and a man whose youth was marked by battles about which he energetically reminds us (560–7 and see note on 558–84). The speeches which the two leaders now make show a very striking contrast. Aeneas's speech is a carefully constructed rhetorical exercise (see notes on 126–51). The connection he wishes to establish between himself and Evander is remote, and his descent from Dardanus had already been used by the now enemy King Latinus as a bond of association with himself. Aeneas's attempt to make the Latins seem a threat to all Italians from which only the Trojans are protecting them (147–9) is less than convincing. Evander's response is impulsive. He disregards the political-military aspect of Aeneas's words, and gives expression only to delighted recognition accompanied by fond and grateful memory. In the background lies the welcoming speech (Apollonius ii.774–810) made by Lycus, king of the Mariandyni, to the Argonauts in which he remembered the visit of Herakles to his country. (On this passage see Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* 359–64.)

We should remind ourselves that for all the charm of his new Italian surroundings expressed by the upriver journey, and the encouragement offered by Tiberinus, Aeneas is at a low point. The men he has left back in camp are about to be almost overwhelmed. He is 'tossing on a huge tide of anxiety' (19), he is *tristi turbatus pectora bello* (29). He has reached the stage prayed for by Dido in iv.615–18 (*auxilium imploret*) and foretold by the Sibyl in vi.91f. (*supplex in rebus egenis / quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!*). He is perhaps aware that he does not have a very good case to make to Evander, who has enough trouble with the Latins anyway (55) not to need a group of newcomers to embroil him further. (It is worth noting at this point that Tiberinus's encouragement is not necessarily all well founded: see 40f.) In his speech he makes the best he can of a weak case. But that is the point. The strength or weakness of his case is insignificant to Evander, for whom it is enough that he is who he is. In that reaction Evander's personal disposition and the will of heaven coincide.

(iv) *Hercules, Cacus and the Ara Maxima* (184–279)

Two terms may come in useful in discussing this passage.

aition: Greek for ‘cause’, with the related English adjective ‘aetiological’. Aetiological stories are those told in the form of mythological tales explaining why something in the present day is as it is. The *Aeneid* as a whole is an *aition* on a grand scale, explaining why Rome has the history it has had. Individual parts of the *Aeneid* are *aitia*: ‘How Cape Misenum got its name’ (6.212–235). ‘Why Carthage and Rome were enemies’ (4.612–629). Here the story is partly an *aition*: ‘Why the Ara Maxima is important’.

epyllion (‘miniature epic’): used to refer to a short narrative in epic style either as a self-standing poem or as a part of a longer (epic) poem. A conspicuous example of the former is Catullus 64, ‘The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis’, of the latter Virgil *Georgics* 4.453–566, ‘Orpheus and Eurydice’. Here ‘Hercules and Cacus’.

The Ara Maxima lay in the Forum Boarium, the Cattle Market, between the foot of the Palatine Hill and the Aventine, ‘just behind the gateways of the Circus Maximus’ according to Servius. There were several temples to Hercules in the area of the Forum Boarium, but the Ara Maxima seems always to have been a self-standing altar, and perhaps not a very conspicuous one in itself, given that archaeology has not identified any remains which can be confidently attributed to it. There was all the same something very special about it. It was ancient, dating back, according to tradition, long before the foundation of the city. Ceremonies there were conducted according to a Greek ritual, and it was, says the Livy (i.7.4), the only Greek cult which Romulus adopted, the only foreign cult which lay within the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the city. It was the custom for traders to dedicate a tenth of their profit to Hercules, and victorious generals also made conspicuous donations. The income was not spent on grand buildings, and may have been devoted largely to the provision of a regular public feast, especially given that one of its rules was that all sacrificial meat except that burnt on the altars was to be eaten on the premises.

We have several different versions of the legend associated with the Ara Maxima. All of them are substantially different from Virgil's, except for that of Ovid (*Fasti* 5.541–586) which is itself based on Virgil. We can therefore see which features are likely to be Virgil's own and form an impression of the way he hoped the story would be understood.

At first Cacus seems to have been a benign figure of the Roman legend. A path leading up from the Forum Boarium to the Palatine had the name *Scalae Caci* and somewhere in the vicinity of its foot was an *Atrium Caci*. He had a sister Caca for whom there seems to have existed a small shrine tended by the Vestal Virgins. But almost all those who tell his story represent him as a robber. It looks as if his name has been interpreted as the Greek work *kakos* – 'evil' (in spite of the difference between the long *a* of the Latin and the short *a* of the Greek), and has been set up in opposition to Evander (Greek 'the benefactor'). In this character he steals Hercules's cattle and conceals their destination by the trick of forcing them to walk backwards into his cave. Hercules does not notice the theft. He is asleep either through weariness or because he has been eating and drinking. On waking he notices the shortfall. The missing cattle reveal their presence accidentally in one version and in another thanks to Hercules's stratagem in deliberately leading his remaining cattle past the Cacus's cave door. Being found out, Cacus appeals to the locals for support against the foreigner, but is clubbed down and killed by Hercules. Evander, who recognizes Hercules's future divinity because he has been informed of it by his prophetess-mother Carmentis, takes charge of the situation. In two of the prose versions it is he who establishes the altar; in one it is Hercules himself.

A version of the story appears in a poem by Virgil's contemporary Propertius in which Cacus has three bodies like Geryon. In the others Cacus is a mortal among mortals.

Virgil's Cacus is different. He is a son of Vulcan. He breathes fire and smoke. He is evidently of great size and bulk. His cave is deep in the mountainside and is a place of horror, with the heads of his human victims nailed to its door. His theft of the cattle is no robbery for profit;

it is done out of the sheer longing to do evil (205–6). He is a threat to all around.

Hercules has corresponding qualities. His arrival is described as ‘the (miraculous) appearance of a god’ (201). Insofar as losing his cattle displays human weakness, Virgil passes over it. Hercules does not stoop to a stratagem to track down the missing animals. He has challenged Cacus with their theft, but this only becomes apparent after the battle has been won (263). The focus is all on his search for a way into Cacus’s cave and the terrifying strength and determination he shows in finding it and destroying his foe. Compared with the other narratives, this is hyperbole on a huge scale.

What is Virgil’s purpose in so emphasizing the contest? A clear indication that it has become a battle on a superhuman level is given by the simile in 243–6: Cacus’s home is like the realm of the dead, the pit of the underworld which is alien to the gods above. Outside the simile, in the ‘real world’ it is the Giants, the traditional enemies of the gods, who are imprisoned in the underworld. The giant Typhoeus, one of those who attempted to overthrow Jupiter, is traditionally confined below Mount Etna, where his fiery breath reaches the upper world through the eruptions of the volcano. Hercules’s stupendous effort in dislodging the mountain crag which towers above Cacus’s cave, along with his battering of Cacus with huge rocks, recall the rocks thrown by the gods and their opponents in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (‘Birth of the Gods’) 715. Hesiod was a near-contemporary of Homer and almost equal to him in prestige. When Hercules hurls the rock the result (239–40) is a cosmic event involving the elements of sky (*aether*) earth (*ripae*) and water (*amnis*).

Seen thus, Cacus represents the forces of chaos and destruction which have threatened Aeneas before, in the storm-scene of Book i, and in the events of Book vii when we know that Juno and the Fury Allecto have been at work. It is not Aeneas who is threatened by Cacus, but Rome and the proto-Romans. Nevertheless we and Aeneas may see Hercules’s achievement as representing that which is Aeneas’s own mission: the establishment of peace and order in the face of the forces of chaos. This is also Augustus’s mission. Since the beginning of the

Aeneid Aeneas's task has been seen as Herculean. The word *labor*, as in Hercules's 'labours', is used of his experiences by himself, by Jupiter, by the Cumaean Sibyl and by others. When Aeneas brings Anchises away from Troy at the end of Book ii, he is wearing the lionskin of Hercules and bearing a burden on his shoulder as Hercules bore the sky for Atlas. In viii, he takes his place at Evander's feast on a lionskin and rides to Caere on a horse clad in a lionskin. As for Augustus, in vi.801–3 he is described as outdoing Hercules. Scholars have also thought to see in Cacus a deliberate suggestion of Turnus as Aeneas's opponent and Antony as Augustus's (Galinsky, *The Hercules-Cacus Episode*, AJP 1966).

The first reference to Hercules comes in 103, where he is referred to as *Amphitryoniades*, son of Amphitryon, his human father. At the end of the Cacus narrative, the Arcadians sing a hymn to Hercules which concludes with a reference to his divine father (301): *Salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis*: 'Hail, true son of Jupiter, yourself a glory given to the gods!' The story has been, among other things, an illustration of the principle *immortalitas virtute parata*, 'immortality achieved by excellence', Livy's phrase (1.7) for what inspired Romulus about Hercules. At the time when Virgil was composing the *Aeneid*, Horace was writing of Augustus (*Odes* 3.3): 'By this quality (i.e. that of being just and resolute) ... Pollux and Hercules struggled for, and attained, the fiery citadels [of heaven]; and between them lies Augustus as he drinks the nectar with his bright-red lips.'

The principal non-Virgilian sources for the story of Hercules and Cacus are Livy 1.7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.39–40; Diodorus of Sicily 4.21; Propertius 4.9; Ovid *Fasti* 1.541–586. See also especially G.Galinsky (1972) in *Oxford Readings* 277–94.

(v) *The visit to the site of Rome (306–69)*

The passage falls into two nearly equal parts, (a) 306–36 and (b) 337–69. The first part is an explanation by Evander of the prehistory of Latium. What Evander is interested in, as *primus* (319) indicates, is the

formation and maintenance of organized society. Saturn achieved this, and presided over the 'golden age'.

(a) A sequence of periods going from 'gold' to 'iron' appears first in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 109–201. (Hesiod's word is not 'age' but 'race', and it appears that each race is obliterated before its successor appears on earth.) The primordial 'golden race' existed 'in the time of Kronos' (Zeus's father, the Greek counterpart of Saturn); it lived and died in ease and comfort, its members becoming beneficent spirits after death. The 'races' which followed (silver, bronze and iron) each represented a deterioration on its predecessor, though between bronze and iron Hesiod inserts a 'heroic' race, fighters at Thebes and Troy, 'juster and better'. Hesiod laments (174) that he has been born a member of the iron race. The idea of Kronos presiding over a people or a place of unalloyed happiness persists in Hesiod (the heroes, after death, pass to a region where he rules) and later into Orphic/Pythagorean religion (Pindar, *Olympian* ii.68–74).

Virgil uses the idea of 'ages' rather than 'races' and does so here, in *Eclogue* 4 (*passim*) and in *Georgic* i.125–8. He does so on each occasion in a way which suits his purpose. In G.i the theme is *labor omnia vincit*: Jupiter put an end to the hedonism of his predecessor and made wolves ravenous so that humans would learn to work. In E.4 the theme is the birth of a child who will restore a collapsing world. The ages are reduced to three and go into reverse: nowadays is the iron age (8); soon will be a new heroic age when mighty wars will be fought (34–6); then the work-free and colour-filled age of gold will return (39–45). In viii the message is different again. The primordial state is far from 'golden'; it is brutish and impoverished like that described by Lucretius in v.925–61. The structure of law and community which Saturn provides sounds like the antithesis of the unorganized bliss of the traditional golden age. But city-founding involves providing a structure, and city-founding is what Aeneas and after him Augustus are about. The ideal king, who here characterizes the golden age, is a feature of an entirely different system, that of Plato's Republic (e.g. 473d). That Virgil is thinking on these lines seems to appear from the sequence of decline which Saturn's

kingdom undergoes in 327: *belli rabies* followed by *amor habendi*. In *Republic* viii.548–50 we hear how the rule of the kings degenerates first into a system where military glory is prized ('timocracy'), then into one centred on the love of money (oligarchy). It may be straining this idea too far to think also of the subsequent elements in Plato's sequence – democracy followed by tyranny – and to see the fierce king Thybris (530) as an example of the last.

(b) Evander now guides Aeneas round Pallanteum (337–65). From line 466 one might think that Pallas and Achates, at least, must also have been present on this walk, but nothing is said during the course of it to confirm this. Virgil focuses our attention on a number of places, some of which are already significant to Evander, others which acquire significance in later history. In the description of this walk there are three 'voices': that of Evander speaking to Aeneas (351–8, 362–5), that of Virgil retailing Evander's account, and that of Virgil calling our attention to things which Evander could not have known, usually with a 'then and now' theme. The second and third 'voices' are intermingled.

The route they take on their walk is clear in general outline: they go from the Ara Maxima along the riverbank to the site of the Porta Carmentalis (337). Here they turn right and walk through the Velabrum, the low ground between the Palatine and the Capitol. On their right is the Lupercal (343n.); on their left a little further along it is possible to look up the slope to where the Asylum must have been (342) between the two summits of the Capitol. They come into the Forum just beside the Temple of Saturn. Opposite them is the entrance to the Argiletum (345). From here it is possible to take the Scalae Gemoniae up to the Capitoline ridge (*Tarpeia sedes* 347), from where both *Saturnia* and *Ianiculum* (355–8) can be seen – but this seems to involve some doubling back, and doubts are expressed about whether Evander was fit enough for this ascent (Gransden p. 32, Eden p. 104). Their next destination is the Palatine, which they probably reach by walking through the Forum (361) along the line of the Via Sacra, where they will have the Carinae (361) on their left as they take the Clivus Palatinus up the north side of the hill. If Evander's house is, as seems

likely, on or near the site of Augustus's house (see note on 463, also Suetonius *Aug.* 29.3, which places Augustus's house next to the temple of Apollo), they will finish their walk by crossing the summit of the Palatine north-south.

Why does Virgil choose his route for their walk? At a commonplace level, there are two routes for Evander to get home from the Forum Boarium: up the *Scalae Caci*, the steep slope straight up the Cermalus, or round the back of the hill via the future Forum. He chooses the latter; it is the longer but easier and it offers more opportunity for sightseeing and explanation.

How does Virgil choose the points upon which Evander or he himself comment? The Forum and the Capitol are natural objects of interest. They are used in very different, deliberately contrasted ways. The Capitol appears as an inhospitable, mysterious eminence at the very centre of the narrative. The Forum is a scene of peaceful pastoral activity. The contrast is appropriate for these two centres of Roman life, the one religious, the other civil, and each of them is given a 'then and now' feature: the gold of Jupiter's temple and the prosperous chic of the *Carinae*, here assimilated to the Forum. Then there are three points particularly associated with Evander: the *ara Carmentalis*, dedicated to his mother, the Lupercal, here given its Arcadian origin, and the Argiletum, commemorating the murder of his over-ambitious guest. (On the *porta Carmentalis*, see note on 337–41; on the death of Argus, see note on 345.) There remains the puzzling reference to the ruined towns Janiculum and Saturnia: where are they seen from, where are they, and why are they mentioned? In answer to the third point Binder makes a heroic but not entirely convincing effort (pp. 114–49) to tie in the elements of this whole passage with the Shield narrative. He associates them with the *Doppelherrschaft* ('shared authority') characteristic of Roman government. There was the story that Janus welcomed Saturn to Italy (cf. 357–8n.), suggesting that *Saturnia regna* constituted a joint rule; then Romulus/Remus, Romulus/Titus Tatius, the double consulship of the Republic, even Augustus/Agrippa on the Shield, all suggest shared power as a Roman ideal.

When Aeneas and Evander arrive at Evander's house, the emphasis is on Evander's poverty (360) and the context is pastoral (359). The context reminds us of the end of *Eclogue* i, where Tityrus invites Meliboeus, who has been driven out of his home *hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem / fronde super viridi* (79f.) – even to the nature of the bedding. Aeneas, of heroic stature, must stoop to enter Evander's house (see on 463–7), Evander recalls the evidently similar visit of Hercules, insisting that it is a sign of greatness not to look down on poverty. The scene has the character of a 'theoxeny' (θεοξενία: a god accepting hospitality), as described by Ovid *Met.*viii.637f., when Jupiter and Mercury visit poor Baucis and Philemon: *caelicolae ... summisso ... humiles intrarunt vertice postes*: 'the gods bowed their heads on entering the low (humble) doorway'. Of course for both Hercules and Aeneas divinity is only a prospect.

(vi) *Arms requested and made* (370–453)

The theme derives from *Iliad* xviii. Achilles lost his armour, because he lent it to Patroclus who was killed by Hector. He needed it replaced. He appealed to his mother Thetis who approached Hephaestus (=Vulcan). Hephaestus owed Thetis a favour. She had taken care of him for nine years after he was thrown out of heaven by his mother Hera (=Juno) who objected to his being lame. At the time of her request he was in the course of making some gadgets, automotive tripods, which he set aside for the more important task, the shield, which he made himself over the space of five lines (xviii.478–82). The shield is described in great detail (483–608) – see below pp. 43–4 for a comparison of its decoration with Aeneas's. Thetis delivers the armour to Achilles at the beginning of xi; on its own it terrifies Achilles's men; Achilles receives it with delight and it spurs him to greater fury.

For two similar stories, Virgil's is remarkably different. The fate of Aeneas's existing armour is not entirely clear. From iv.495 it seems that he left it in Carthage *thalamo fixa* (Dido's phrase). *Figo* is a word used of hanging up objects as evidence of success, often in temples, but cf. Propertius iii.9.26 for a military commander decorating his own home. For Aeneas to have left his armour so is an act, in Dido's eyes, of tasteless

and callous cruelty. If the matter were so simple, Aeneas would indeed be in need of arms – for a conspicuous and inconvenient reason; and a failure at the end of iv which is compensated at the end of viii would be consistent with observations made above (p. 28). But Aeneas has a sword when he leaves Carthage (iv.579), and when he descends to the underworld he is fully armed (vi.388). For this reason it seems that he does not ‘need’ armour; Venus’s appeal to Vulcan is concisely stated: *genetrix nato* (383) and not further explained. Aeneas has not, like Achilles, asked his mother for the arms; his mother has asked on his behalf. Vulcan agrees to make them as a return for a favour of rather a different kind from Thetis’s (387–94). His workshop is unlike Hephaestus’s: it is a huge and noisy place, offering the opportunity of a dramatic *ecphrasis** (416–22), and he has subordinates of various levels whose important work is abruptly broken off. It is they who do the basic work; Vulcan, a well-educated craftsman, appears to be responsible only for the decoration (627–8). This decoration is not described until it is shown to Aeneas, who is, unlike Achilles, to be imagined gazing at it in detail, but, with irony to which pathos easily attaches, incapable of understanding. The reaction of his men is not described: unlike Achilles’s men, they are not present when he receives the arms.

The effect of these differences is strikingly to rebalance the story. There are three elements to it: request, manufacture, description. In Homer they come one after another without interruption. In Virgil they are separate. (407–13 creates an atmosphere totally different from its neighbour passages.) Each becomes an independent dramatic episode. In the request scene Venus, as so often in the *Aeneid*, shows initiative where Aeneas seems not to. The manufacture takes place in a fire-filled cavern. We have already encountered one such in viii: Cacus’s cave, and found reason to associate it with the giants and their aspiration to overthrow the Olympians (p. 35). In his well-organized foundry Vulcan is utilizing those very fires of Etna which are associated with the giant Typhoeus. It is not going too far to suggest that there is an Augustan idea here: that by the use of legitimate power even the forces of disorder, even perhaps *furor*, can be turned to good.

(vii) Conference; departure for Caere (454–607)

This passage is united by its beginning with a gentle scene of quiet morning activity (455–2) and its conclusion with relaxation after a long day's toil (606–7). The central point is the vision of armour at 524–9, followed by Aeneas's acceptance of the call. This can be seen as, from Aeneas's point of view, a climax of the epic, the moment when Aeneas, from being often uncertain and confused and sometimes mistaken, becomes finally confident in his mission and his capacity to carry it out. (Reading from an Augustan standpoint, the reader may well see a climax at 714–28.) On either side of it are passages which present Evander and Pallas in different lights. (i) 454–519. Here Evander appears as the active and authoritative king, almost youthful indeed: one of the sources of his walk to business in 455–62 is young Telemachus on his way to his first assembly (*Od.* ii.1–11); the other is Menelaus on his way to an early meeting with Telemachus at Sparta (*Od.* iv.306–11). A slow and careful introduction to his speech builds up to an emotional description of Mezentius's disgusting brutalities; the second high point comes with the passionate appeal to Aeneas (513); the speech concludes with Pallas offered as an apprentice to Aeneas much in the spirit of Evander's association with Anchises, as suggested by 154–68. (ii) 554–84. The general anxiety at the outbreak of war finds its most intense expression in Evander's farewell to his son. Pallas's youth is put before the reader / listener first as full of promise, then as fearfully vulnerable. The final passage of the section begins by offering us a third aspect: Pallas's attractive confidence (587–91). Virgil has used the idea of a cavalry expedition to Caere not only for the uninteresting and obvious point that riding is much the quickest way of getting there, but as a reminiscence of other characters on horseback: Ascanius in the African wilderness (iv.156–9) or at the *lusus Troiae* (v.553–74), Dido preparing for the hunt (iv.136–9).

(viii) The Shield (608–728)

In Book vi the Sibyl warned Aeneas of another Achilles already born in Latium (vi.89). It is of course Turnus, the enemy of resurgent Troy.

But in Book viii it is Aeneas himself who becomes Achilles, and the transformation is symbolized by his acquisition of god-made armour. For both Achilles and Aeneas, it is the decorated shield which is the point of interest.

Achilles's shield (*Iliad* xviii 478–608) seems to have been circular like Aeneas's. On it were represented (perhaps in the centre) the world: earth, sky, sea, stars; then (perhaps describing concentric circles, moving outwards) two cities, one at peace (a wedding; a legal dispute) and one at war (a siege, an ambush); agricultural scenes (ploughing, harvest, vintage); pastoral scenes (cattle attacked by lions, sheep and sheepfolds); a country dance; and finally, round the rim, Ocean. The decoration is very unlike that on Agamemnon's armour in *Iliad* xi.17–45: dark snakes writhing up the corslet, a Gorgon on the shield, supported by Terror and Panic. Heracles's shield, as described in the poem of that name attributed to Hesiod, is also designed to inspire terror. Even Euripides expected Achilles to have a Gorgon on his shield (*Electra* 452–69). Homer's description seems to have been as surprising in antiquity as now. In fact, it so happens that the shield, even illustrated as it is, prompts terror in Achilles's men and battle-rage in himself (*Il.*xix 14–17).

For Aeneas's, we have a clear introduction in 626–9: Italian history, Roman triumphs, the whole line of Ascanius's descendants, the wars they fought, in order. There is evidently far more on the Shield than is ever described to us, but all of it is emphatically Roman. What Aeneas admires with uncomprehending delight (730) is, in the first half of the ecphrasis, a sequence of scenes from before the foundation of the city up to the time when it was captured by the Gauls in 390, a few vignettes of the enactment of Roman rituals and a very quick visit to a romanized underworld; in the second half an extensive presentation of the Battle of Actium as it is contested between both the fleets and the gods of Egypt and Rome, followed by a glorified account of Augustus's consequent triumphs.

For both Achilles and Aeneas the possession of the divine shield coincides with their entering into the fullest realization of their heroic

stature. In the *Iliad* Achilles has not been fighting since the beginning of the poem, but, thinking of the time before that, one has the sense that his nine-year failure to confront Hector suggests some lack of purpose which is now made up by his resolve to avenge Patroclus. In Aeneas's case it is only now, with Venus's portent at 524–9, that he feels fully confident in his mission. On Achilles's shield the representation is universal: human life in all the activities of peace and war. Achilles is well aware of his fate: he is going into battle to kill Hector, but his own death will follow quickly on Hector's (*Il.*xviii.96). The shield represents everything which he is, in taking it up, sacrificing. Aeneas takes up the shield which represents the future which he is himself creating.

In its relation to Book viii as a whole, the shield episode responds first to the Cacus narrative (188–275). Hercules's exploit in destroying the monster Cacus is a preparation for Augustus's divinely assisted victory over the monstrous (698) gods of Egypt. It also looks back to 307–70, the visit to the site of Rome. In the earlier passage we see Rome in potential, in the Shield the city reaches its fulfilment. Victory in battle and triumphant fulfilment are both presided over by Apollo. Both the journey round Rome and the episodes of the Shield come to an end on the Palatine. The Shield is also the third and last member of the prophetic sequence whose first two are i.258–96 (Jupiter's prophecy to Venus) and vi.756–886 (Anchises's display of future Romans in the underworld). All three constitute praise of Augustus as victor in battle and bringer of peace. In i.289–94 Augustus returns from eastern conquests to close the gates of War and imprison *Furor*. In vi Augustus appears in the very middle of the parade of heroes (789–807), between the war-king Romulus and his successor Numa, the bringer of peace and law; the parade ends (before the Marcellus epilogue – see the Summary, p. 23) with the challenge to the Romans *paci imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (852–3) 'to set order upon peace, to spare the conquered and crush the proud in war'. Book viii sees the realization of that great aim: Augustus surrounded by the representatives of a conquered and grateful world.

The Actium and triumph scenes seem securely tied in to the programme of the *Aeneid*. Less obvious is any connecting theme in the first half of the ecphrasis. Various suggestions have been made. Warde Fowler (103ff.) suggested that the episodes each represented the delivery of Rome from a great peril. This can cover 635–41, 642–5, 646–62, perhaps even the reference to Catiline, but leaves the rest unexplained and poses the further question as to why Hannibal is not mentioned (he qualifies only for a hint in the list of heroes in vi.843). D. L. Drew (*The Allegory of the Aeneid* 26–31) suggested that the Shield is a recollection of the Shield of Virtue presented to Augustus in 27 BCE in acknowledgement of his four excellences *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*. Gransden (161f.) notes a coincidence between the location of the incidents in 635–62 with the places visited by Aeneas on the previous evening. Eden (164f.) suggests that the whole passage is a tribute to Ennius (Servius on viii.631: ‘of course this whole passage is Ennian’), implying that the (unnamed) hero of the Gallic occupation and retreat was M. Furius Camillus and that his insistence (recorded by Livy v.54.7) on the preservation of Roman cults after the invasion is the background to 663–6.

In a powerful book *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986, 336–75) Philip Hardie returned to the shield of Achilles and offered a new explanation of Aeneas’s shield in terms of the Hellenistic scholarly accounts of Homer’s work which were available to Virgil as he composed the *Aeneid*. Of two separate strands of this tradition one emphasizes the universalizing character of the Homeric Shield (xviii.483 ‘he put in it the earth and the heaven and the sea and all the stars and constellations’), the other the idea that one of the two cities mentioned can be identified with Athens (‘the first city [built] when the universe was created’). The first strand allows for the idea that the battle of the gods on the Shield represents a battle for the control of the universe, the second for the idea that Athens and hence now Rome on earth herself is a representation of that universe and that Augustus as restorer of order and peace is to be thought of as universal ruler. Jupiter’s prophecy in i.278f. can lend support to this, where the foundation of a city is the condition of

the creation of an empire without limits of time or space. ‘The birth, preservation and eventual unlimited expansion of Rome ... form the real subject of the Shield’ (p. 348). While there are still problems in fitting the individual features of the Shield to this scheme, the idea has the great merit of accommodating Virgil’s Shield to what we can know of how Virgil read his Homer.

Virgil’s style: A practical guide

The following discussion avoids most technical terms except for those of metre, on the grounds that it is much more important to read Virgil than to label him. But they can come in useful. See the Index for a list of terms and definitions.

(A) Two passages:

(1) 102–4

*Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat
ante urbem in luco.*

By chance that very day the Arcadian king was bringing a solemn offering to the great son of Amphitryon and the gods, outside the city in a grove.

Imagine this as a sentence presented in a standard prose style:

Illo die forte rex Arcas Herculi deisque ante urbem in luco sacrificabat.

By chance the Arcadian king was sacrificing to Hercules that day in a grove outside the city.

For *sacrificabat* Virgil has used a relatively elaborate phrase *sollemnem honorem ferebat*, making use of the abstract noun *honorem*, establishing the importance of the ceremony.

Illo follows *die* with which it agrees; *sollemnem* comes before *honorem* with which it agrees, and the two phrases interlock so as to create a single phrase. *Arcas* is the third adjectival word here; it is the only one to go immediately next to its noun, sandwiched inside the complex formed by the other two phrases. The line is thus tightly held together. *Illo*, delayed until after its noun, carries the stress: ‘on that very day’.

For *Herculi* Virgil has given us a grand epic-style patronymic taking up the whole of the first half of the line. For *deis* he gives us the archaic *divis*. The result is a four-word line, rare and imposing (there are only five such in Book viii.)

Lines 102 and 103 are metrically (not identical but) similar. We notice that both lines are divided at a fourth-foot caesura* and that the first parts rhyme with each other. (*Magno* goes closely with *Amphitryoniadae*, so that the 3rd-foot caesura seems less of a break.)

The place phrase *ante urbem in luco*, a heavy, spondaic phrase with two elisions, is put conspicuously at the end of the sentence, outside the tightly knitted unit preceding them, after the verb and at the beginning of a line, breaking off half way through the line – and once again, rhyming. This is deliberate: the exact location of the ceremony is important: the Ara Maxima.

(2) 228–32

*Ecce / fúrens ánimis / áderat Tírynthius / omnémque
accéssum lústrans / húc ora ferebat et illuc, /
déntibus infréndens. / tér tótum férvidus ira
lustrat Aventíni montem, / tér saxea temptat
limina / nequíquam, / tér féssus valle resedit.*

See, raging in fury the Tiryntian was there, and viewing every approach he kept turning his face this way and that, grinding his teeth. Thrice, boiling with anger, he views the whole of the Aventine hill; thrice he attempts the rock-built gateway, in vain; thrice he sank back wearily in the valley.

The obliques indicate suggested pauses in a reading. Accents are placed on syllables which seem to require particular stress.

Other comments:

- (i) *Ecce*: with this word the narrator (Virgil / Evander) invites us / Aeneas not just to listen to him, but to be there. (A very rudimentary apostrophe*.)
- (ii) *animi* pl. means ‘anger’ (OLD 11), so in the abl.: ‘in anger’, thus duplicating the idea in *furens*.
- (iii) The first four feet are all dactyls, and the word stresses as indicated clash violently with the verse-stress; the point made more evident by having the third and fourth words begin with the same letter. Hercules races up the hill.
- (iv) *Tiryntius*: another grand word for Hercules; it suddenly slows the line down with its long syllables.
- (v) The next phrase is even slower, ignoring the line end, and, very unusually, containing a superfluous syllable. Although this syllable virtually disappears by elision in the reading, it probably has the effect of casting the word-accent onto the *e* of *omnem*, thereby disrupting the normal pattern, and in this spondaic passage putting a stress (verse- or word-) on every syllable from *omn-* to *-ans*, thereby slowing up the words and illustrating Hercules’s frustrated search at the top of the hill.
- (vi) *lustrans*: the verb is originally a ritual term ‘pass over’ for the purpose of purifying. In its non-ritual sense it is largely poetic; it carries the idea of ‘viewing thoroughly’. The repetition (epanalepsis*) of the word in 231 is striking: it perhaps conveys something of the impatience and anger with which one looks for missing objects two and three times in the same place.
- (vii) *ora ferebat*: for this, *circumspiciebat* would be the routine prose term. *Ora* has just a hint of artificiality: it is plural for singular, but the plural creates a short syllable – Latin hexameter poets needed all of these they could get. The phrase *ora ferebat* gives the vivid sense of Hercules’s head and eyes turning.
- (viii) *huc* and *illuc* stressed by placing at beginning and end of phrase.

- (ix) *dentibus infrendēns*: illustrated by the *e*-sounds, *d*, *t*, and double consonants introduced by *n*. (Nb also rolled *r*: the letter was described by the satirist Persius as *canina* ‘doggy’; whatever exactly he meant, there was surely an element of ferocity (assonance*).)
- (xi) *ter ... ter ... ter*: the phrases are connected by the repeated word which also hammers home Hercules’s repeated efforts (anaphora*).
- (xii) *totum* with *montem*; one cannot pause between; the phrase disrupts the sequence of lines as with *omnem ... lustrans* (hyperbaton*).
- (xiii) *nequiquam*: this, as a substantial adverb coming, unusually, after its verb, seems to invite us to make it prominent – in grammar as in Hercules’s frustration.
- (xiv) *ter ... resedit*: see the note on this line (tricolon diminuendo*).
- (xv) *lustrat ... temptat ... resedit*. The first two of these verbs are (historic) present; the last is perfect. Virgil could have continued the sequence of present tenses with *residit*. Why didn’t he? Is the transition from vivid present to narrative perfect deflating?

Note that **adjectives** create patterns, as above and in such self-contained lines as:

197 *ora* (A) *virum tristi* (b) *pendebant pallida* (a) *tabo* (B)
 men’s faces were hanging, blanched with horrid decay

(upper case representing a noun and lower case an adjective), or

235 (a) *dirarum nidis* (B) *domus* (b) *opportuna* (A) *volucrum*
 a suitable home for the nests of ill-omened birds,

though neither of these is an instance of the ‘Golden Line’ (a name possibly invented by the poet Dryden) *abAB*

43 (a) *litoreis* (b) *ingens inventa sub* (A) *ilicibus* (B) *sus*
 a huge sow, discovered beneath the coastal holm-oaks.

Conclusion to (A). In reading Virgil one needs to think (i) of individual words: for their sound, for their metrical pattern, for their associations, for their position; (ii) of phrases and clauses: of the length or shortness of the unit; of the word order within the unit; of its placing within a line or overlapping a line, (iii) of the structure of a paragraph: how long is it overall (see on 560–71 for the ‘four-hexameter’ rule), does it consist of relatively short phrases or long ones? (iv) of the metre – in what way does sound contribute to sense? how are those effects created?

(B)

Not all discussion of ‘style’ should be concerned with such minutiae. The minutiae are important, but so are, among others, the following issues. For any passage, it is worth asking the following (overlapping) questions.

- (i) **Pace.** How much of this passage is necessary to my understanding of the sequence of events? If some of it isn’t, why has Virgil included those parts? In *Aeneid* viii it is striking that the narrative of the epic is relatively little advanced. It is in many of those passages where the story is in abeyance that the underlying themes of the epic are most conspicuously brought out (184–305 Hercules and Cacus, 306–9 the walk round the site of Rome, 625–728 the Shield). For other passages the question arises: How are these contributing to the epic as a whole (86–96 the upriver journey, 414–53 the manufacture of the arms, 454–64 Evander making his way to Aeneas’s accommodation).
- (ii) **Tone.** What is the **tone** of the passage? Is it detached? relaxed? intense? concentrated? discursive? ironic? literal? didactic? serious? humorous? The passage 370–406, Venus’s persuasion of Vulcan, is full of comic touches, intriguing in the context of the serious purpose of her efforts; it is very different from, say, Evander’s description of Caere under Mezentius (478–95).
- (iii) **Focalization.** From whose (if anyone’s) point of view is the story being told? Especially, where a character is speaking, is there

reason to think that this represents a private point of view or one that others (including the reader) might not share? Lines 10–17 are a description of events in Latium from Turnus's point of view; 147–9 are a description of the same events from Aeneas's point of view. (Those events, the outbreak of hostilities over the killing of a pet deer, were narrated in vii.475–539 almost exclusively from the point of view of the Latin countrymen.) The river journey 86–96 is seen partly from the point of view of the oarsmen having an easy passage, but in 91–3 we find the story being told from the point of view of the landscape through which the ship passes.

- (iv) **Structure.** How does this passage relate (a) to the section of the narrative of which it is part, (b) to the story as a whole? 259–64 relate to the story of Hercules and Cacus as its climax and the beginning of its epilogue. In relation to the book as a whole the lines are a preparation for 704–16 (the cut-offs are somewhat arbitrary), the climax and the beginning of the epilogue to Actium.
- (v) **Intertextuality.** Is there anything to suggest that Virgil is making a conscious (or indeed unconscious) reference to another work? If so, what does it add to our understanding of this text? This may operate at the level of a single word or phrase. At 679 *magnis dis* there is a double reference: by Virgil to his own work at iii.12 and to a line from Ennius (see the note on 679). There may also be a relatively extended passage: 243–6 recalls *Iliad* xx.61–5 with the idea of breaking open the underworld; in addition to this simple fact one needs to consider whether the Homeric context (the last stage of the Trojan War is now beginning) influences our understanding of the Virgilian passage (the last stage of the conflict with Cacus is now beginning). It is of course true that the whole shape of the narrative is influenced by reference to Homer. This becomes conspicuously true in the whole episode of arms for Aeneas. In the *Iliad* arms for Achilles are requested, made and contemplated in xviii.368–613; in the *Aeneid* arms for Aeneas are

requested, made and contemplated in viii.370–453, 626–728. On the relation of the Homeric shield to its Virgilian counterpart see pp. 43–4.

(C)

Two elements of Virgilian style (in fact of epic style in general) deserve a separate mention: (a) simile and (b) ecphrasis.

(a) **Simile.** There are five similes in viii: 22–25, 243–6, 391–2, 407–13, 589–90. Here is a suggested approach to these.

- (i) Exactly what in the narrative does the simile seem to illustrate?
There may well be more than one answer to this.
- (ii) When you have taken from the text of the simile all the points which come under (i), what is left? Consider whether this has any more general bearing on the development of the epic.

It is one of the arguments advanced by Oliver Lyne (*Words and the Poet*, p. 72) that some similes effectively continue the narrative, or fill in gaps in it, for example, x.405–10. The epiphonema 410 describes how Arcadian strength coalesced. Line 408 would encourage us to believe that more than this happened: they broke out and wrought havoc.

- (iii) Is there any ‘cross-fertilization’? Has any language appropriate to the story but not the simile crept into the simile? Or vice versa? If so, is it important for the narrative as a whole?

atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc 20
in partesque rapit varias perque omnia versat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repperctum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.

‘And he parts his swift thought now this way, now that, and hurries it in different directions and turns it over every (possibility), as the

shimmering light on water in bronze basins, reflected from the sun or the shining face of the moon, goes flitting far and wide over every place, and now it goes straight up skyward and strikes the coffering of the ceiling high above.’

- (i) The point of contact is the single idea of variety expressed in four different ways in 20–1: *fluctuat* (19) ‘is tossed’, *huc ... illuc* (20) ‘this way and that’, *in partes varias* (21) ‘in different directions’, *per omnia* (21) ‘over every (possibility)’.
- (ii) The words which correspond most closely to this idea are *tremulum*, *pervolat* and perhaps *repercussum*, which express the character of the light, its speed and its changing direction. The setting has no bearing on the changeability of the light, but it is strongly characterized: an interior, and a wealthy one at that, with its coffered ceiling. At the very least it is in sharp contrast with Aeneas’s current situation, alone on the riverbank some way from any permanent habitation.
- (iii) In the simile itself there is nothing to suggest Aeneas’s anxiety; this comes from our recollection of the origin of the simile in Apollonius Rhodes: it is used to describe Medea’s changing moods, from optimism to suicidal pessimism. The descriptive passage also extends beyond what is necessary to convey variety. Note the conclusion, where the light seems to gather itself together (*erigitur*) and go straight upwards. This can be understood literally: the water, at first disturbed, has settled down. It can also be understood of the process of the hero’s thought, which is not merely aimlessly troubled, but, as is proper for Aeneas, reaches a conclusion, anticipating the arrival of Tiberinus.

For other aspects, see the discussion on these lines in the notes.

- (b) **Ecphrasis.** The term ‘ecphrasis’ is sometimes used in the general sense of ‘an extended passage of description’, of which an instance is 90–6, the journey up the Tiber. Others in viii are 233–5: the rock above

Cacus's cave, 416–23: Vulcan's island, and 597–602: Silvanus's grove. A characteristic of all of them is that they begin with a verb in *asyndeton, which makes for a new start, the jumping-off point for a fresh direction in the narrative.

The other, more limited, use of the term is for the description of an imagined work of art. There are several of these in the *Aeneid*:

- i. 456–93, Juno's temple at Carthage. Aeneas sees illustrations of events from the Trojan War.
- v. 250–7, the cloak given to Cloanthus as a prize for victory in the ship race. Embroidered on it is the rape of Ganymede.
- vi. 20–33, carvings on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae. On it are scenes from Cretan legend: the Minotaur and events surrounding its death.
- vii. 785–92, Turnus's armour. The fire-breathing Chimera and Io turned into a cow.
- viii. 626–728, Aeneas's Shield.
- x. 497–9, Pallas's baldric. The daughters of Danaus murder their husbands on their wedding night.

Every one of these provokes thought about its relevance to its context and to the *Aeneid* as a whole. Each suggests the questions 'Is this scene noticed by anyone other than the poet (and us, his audience)?' 'If it is, by whom?' 'What response does it provoke?' Other than the shield in viii, the most substantial of these ecphrases is in Book i, where Aeneas sees scenes from the Trojan War illustrated in Juno's temple at Carthage. These scenes are read by Aeneas as showing sympathy for the Trojans (i.459–63). It has been argued that Aeneas entirely misinterprets what are really celebrations of triumph over defeated Troy (Lyne, *Further Voices* 210). Aeneas's reaction to these scenes is first to wonder (456), then to see (456, 466), then to recognize (470), and finally to be astounded and captivated (495). By contrast, to the shield it is simply wonder, twice mentioned, at viii.619 and 730 (Barchiesi, *Cambridge Companion* 275–6). On the shield passage as a whole, see further pp. 42–5.

In his important book *Virgil's Epic Designs*, Yale 1998, p. 3, Michael Putnam suggests 'all the ekphrases of the Aeneid, even the shorter descriptions in however circumscribed a capacity, represent the poem itself and afford us deeper ways of reading which we may plumb only through the actuation of sight into insight'.

Rhythm, metre

1. Metrical pattern

Traditionally, lines of verse have a predictable rhythm created by the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables.

The King sits in Dunfermline town
 Drinking the blood-red wine.
 'Oh where will I find a skeely skipper
 To sail this new ship o' mine?'
 Half hour, half hour from Aberdour
 'Tis forty fathoms deep,
 And there lies good Sir Patrick Spens
 Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

There is a strong rhythm about these lines: stressed syllables alternate with unstressed syllables; each line begins with an unstressed syllable; eight-syllable lines alternate with six-syllable lines.

2. Words and metre

Yet this is an oversimplification. Although the rhythm is there, it would be silly to say line 1 stressing 'in' or line 2 stressing '-ing', and, once this is accepted, it becomes clear that there is great flexibility in the way the words can be said without undermining the basic pattern. Two syllables take the place of one ('skipper', 'wi' 'the'); rhythmically unstressed syllables must be given as much weight as stressed syllables ('blood-red',

‘half hour’, ‘Scots lords’) and so on. So that, although *the rhythm is created by the natural accent of the words*, it has its own independent existence, and there are two principles ‘meaning’ and ‘rhythm’ in an interesting competition with each other.

3. Latin metre

(i) Long and short syllables. The same ‘competition’ exists in Latin verse as in English. The difference is that in Latin *the rhythm is created by the pattern of long and short syllables*.

It seems that in Latin long and short syllables were more sharply and systematically differentiated than they are in English. To understand Latin metre it is necessary to recognize ‘quantity’ (i.e. whether a syllable is long and can be marked $\bar{}$, or short and can be marked $\acute{}$). ‘Short’ = half the length of ‘long’. Here are the basic guidelines. (For a fuller explanation, see NLG 5, 362–4.)

A syllable is long if

- (a) it contains a diphthong (i.e. two vowels pronounced together as one syllable, e.g. ‘aēger’).
- (b) it contains a naturally long vowel. *Māter* has a long ‘a’, *pāter* a short; *rēges* ‘kings’ a long first *e*; *rēges* ‘you will rule’ a short. Sometimes the length of a vowel is a clue to the inflection of the word: thus ‘puellā’ is nominative or vocative, ‘puellā’ ablative. Many Latin dictionaries mark naturally long vowels.
- (c) it contains a naturally short vowel followed by two consonants, whether in the same word or split between words. Thus, in ‘ut belli ...’ (line 1), the ‘u’ of ‘ut’ is short but the syllable is made long by the consonants. ‘x’ or ‘z’ are in themselves double consonants.

Where the second of two consonants following a short vowel is *l* or *r* the syllable may count as either short or long (76 *celēbrabere*, 85 *sācra*).

A syllable is short if it contains a naturally short vowel followed by a single consonant or another vowel pronounced separately (e.g. *pŭto*, *pŭella*)

h is ignored.

i can be a consonant or a vowel. In *iacit* ‘he throws’, a 2-syllable word, the first *i* is a consonant sounding ‘y’, the second a vowel.

qu counts as a single consonant; so does *su* in a very few contexts:
suavis, suesco.

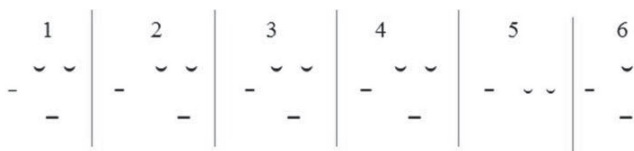
(ii) The hexameter. This is the metre employed by Virgil in all the poems which can certainly be attributed to him. It is the metre of Homer and the standard metre of Greek epic poetry after him. Latin epic poetry began with Livius Andronicus's translation of the *Odyssey* and Naevius's *Bellum Punicum* (mid-late second century BCE). These were written in the metre called by later grammarians 'Saturnian'. Ennius, their successor as a writer of Latin epic, used the hexameter; all subsequent writers of Latin epic followed him.

The following section is an attempt to explain this metre: what it sounds like, and how it is used.

Sleep till the lóng night's dóned. We can áll then arise in the mórning.

Think of this as a six-stress line. All the stressed syllables are long; between each stressed syllable we find *either* two short syllables *or* one long. There are six **feet**. Feet are **dactyls** (stressed (long) syllable followed by two shorts) or **spondees** (stressed syllable followed by one long), except for the sixth, which is stressed syllable followed either long (= *spondee*) or short (= **trochee**). The English line above goes dactyl, spondee, dactyl, dactyl, dactyl, (trochee).

The scheme can be set out thus



The fifth foot is almost invariably a dactyl. There are only four lines in Book viii where it is a spondee (54, 167, 341, 679).

We ‘scan’* line 2 thus:

ēxtŭlīt | ēt raūc | ō strēpŭ | ērŭnt | cōrnŭā | cāntū

Note 1: Elision. The last syllable followed by a word ending in a vowel or vowel + *m* disappears (is ‘elided’ – i.e. struck off) against a following word beginning with a vowel. That is to say, it is ignored in scansion; its presence was probably acknowledged in pronunciation as an amalgamation of the two syllables. Thus, lines 11–12:

*ādvēct(um) | Aēnē | ān clās | sī vīc | tōsquē pē | nātēs
īnfērr(e) | ēt fā | tīs rē | gēm sē | dīcērē | pōscī.*

Some elisions are more intrusive than others – a long syllable elided by a short syllable is particularly noticeable, a short by a long much less so. Sometimes the poet may choose not to elide (the scansion* tells you this). The so-called hiatus can be expressive or just mark a pause between clauses. There is none in viii, but, for example, in i.617 there is a very unusual line ending *Dārdānī | ō Ānch | isaē*.

Note 2: Caesura, Diaeresis. A word break coinciding with the end of a foot is called diaeresis. A word break inside a foot is called **caesura**, ‘strong’ if after the first syllable, ‘weak’ if between the two shorts of a dactyl. There is a marked tendency for there to be a strong caesura in the third foot; if not there, in the second and fourth foot (or at least one of them). Caesura and diaeresis sometimes mark a break in the meaning as well as the rhythm (after *Graiuenum* 127, *impulit* 239), often not (after *Iliacae* 134 where the sense carries on to *urbis*, after *viscera* 180 below).

(iii) Words and metre: Ictus and Accent. Even before you consider the words and what they mean, the metre allows for great variety in the sound of each line. Think of the words, and the variety is immensely increased. The metre suggests six stresses (the ictus), one on the first syllable of each foot. But each word has its own natural stress (the accent), which depends on the quantity of the *second-last syllable*. If

this is short, the accent falls on the third-last syllable (*régimus*); if long, or if there are only two syllables, on the second-last (*régit, regébat*). In the presence of both ictus and accent (see further below) lies much of the ‘competition’ referred to in (b) above. ‘Ictus and Accent’ is an idea familiar to English verse (see (a) and (b) above). ‘Ictus’ = a stress suggested by the verse-rhythm; ‘accent’ = the stress natural to a word.

Friēds, Rómans, coúntrymēn, lénd me your eárs.

Ictus (marked with underlining) in marked clash with accent (marked with acute).

Unlike

I cóme to búry Caésar, nóť to praťse him.

Ictus coinciding with accent throughout.

In Virgil:

víscera tósta férunt taurórum, onerántque canístis (180)

Ictus (marked with underlining) coinciding with accent (marked with acute) in five places, which is rather rare. The effect is perhaps an imitation of Homer.

In contrast:

quín ómn(em) Hespériam pénitus sua sub iúga míttant (148)

There is only one place in the whole line where ictus and accent coincide – the sixth foot. The rough rhythm seems to suggest indignation.

A smooth ending to the line, involving coincidence of ictus and accent in fifth and sixth foot, is normally achieved by the very strong preference for ending the line with two- or three-syllable words only. When lines end otherwise, or with a sense-break in the last two feet to interrupt the rhythm, some particular effect seems almost invariably to be aimed at (54, 167, 341, 345, 400, (402), 416, 679).

Other effects which exploit the fixedness of the line ending are

- **end-stopping / enjambment.** If sense and lines end together (end-stopping: 131–5), the verse sounds more ordered; if the sense

ends at different points from one line to another and not at the end (enjambment), the effect is often one of effort: 135–6.

- **spondaic fifth foot.** This is often an allusion to another poet's work: 167 and note.
- **hypermetric line.** Sometimes an extra syllable in the sixth foot elides against the first syllable of the following line; it can be used, like enjambment, to create a feeling of overflow and to change the stress-pattern at the end of the line: 228.
- A break in the sense at the end of the fourth foot is known as the bucolic diaeresis (because ancient grammarians associated it with Greek bucolic, i.e. pastoral, poetry): 198. The effect is often that a line which is proceeding easily to its end is brought to an abrupt halt.
- A monosyllabic line ending disrupts the coincidence of ictus and accent in the fifth and sixth feet – for example, just before our passage in line 83:

procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus

The effect is archaic: here the reference seems to be to Lucretius.

There are additional details of metre discussed in the notes. Metrical terms are explained here or in the Appendix or both. It cannot be emphasized too much that you must read out loud. Virgil's verse is immensely expressive but that does not come across if it is imprisoned on the page.

Reception

Virgil never lost his appeal to readers, though with the arrival of Christianity the attraction of a pagan work of mythology became a puzzle and needed justification. The fourth *Eclogue*, which tells of the birth of a child who will save the world from itself, seemed to hint at the birth of Christ. Thus Virgil became acceptable as a proto-Christian, and passages in the *Aeneid* could be used to express the Christian message. Cacus is exploited as a spirit of evil. In the fourth century

CE the aristocratic Roman lady Faltonia Betitia Proba composed a *Cento Vergilianus de Laudibus Christi*. A cento is a work built up almost entirely of lines or half-lines of an original work to tell a completely different story. Proba used Virgil's lines to present passages from the Old and New Testaments. Among them Cacus plus Allecto (vii) plus Laocoon's snakes (ii) combine to form the serpent from the Garden of Eden, and Evander's words on Hercules (*auxilium adventumque dei*) are put to service in foretelling the coming of Christ. Aeneas's armour appears in the work of the sixth-century CE Christian author Fulgentius, who turned the *Aeneid* into an allegory of the development of the Christian soul. Aeneas's god-given armour becomes comparable to the spiritual armour referred to by St Paul in Ephesians 10-17. Tiber as a river providing good weather and an easy passage (viii.57-9, 86-9) reappears in the Gallic rhetorician Nazarius's speech delivered in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of Constantine's accession.

Later on, Cacus makes his appearance in Dante's *Inferno*, as a centaur with snakes all over his back and a fire-breathing dragon on his shoulders (xxv.17-34). Virgil, who is represented as guiding Dante round Hell, tells Dante of Cacus's death at Hercules's hands; as he speaks something of Hercules's savage fury (A.viii.228-30) comes through: 'Hercules with his club rained on him nigh / one hundred blows, whereof he felt not ten' (trans. Dorothy Sayers). Prophetic and beneficent rivers appear in Milton's *Comus* – Sabrina, the river Severn – and in Pope's *Windsor Forest*:

In that blest moment from his oozy bed
 Old father Thames advanced his rev'rend head.
 His tresses dropp'd with dews, and o'er the stream
 His shining horns (*corniger*) diffused a golden gleam.

(329-32, cf. A.viii.31-4 and 77)

But as it continues, Thames's speech changes into a reproduction of Jupiter's in i.257-96, complete with the imprisonment of the spirits of discord. The idea of the prophetic river god is perhaps summed up in the sculpture now on the Capitol hill which acquired in the Middle

Agas the name Marforio; he is one of the ‘talking statues’ of Rome. (© Wikipedia – ‘Tiberinus’: it is the same sculpture as the one referred to on p. 100.)

The most striking use of material from *Aeneid* viii comes in the many paintings devoted to it by artists of the Renaissance, baroque and rococo periods from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Four topics appear: the arrival of Aeneas at Pallanteum, Vulcan making Aeneas’s arms in his forge, Venus presenting those arms to Aeneas and the story of Cacus. The Battle of Actium is also regularly featured, but painters seem here to have had Plutarch’s rather than Virgil’s description in mind.

The version by Claude Lorrain (1662) of the arrival of Aeneas at Pallanteum (© nationaltrust515654) presents a pastoral foreground of shepherds and sheep, with a serene background of the river meandering away towards a bright sunlit sky. The atmosphere is very much that of Aeneas’s journey upriver (viii.91–6); Pallanteum appears between the trees at the top of its hill suggesting the grandeur of future Rome rather than the poverty of Evander’s settlement. On the far side of the Tiber is a partly ruinous city (Saturnia?), consistent with viii.357 and with Claude’s delight in presenting Rome simultaneously as a present glory and a nostalgic past. An extra something is added when one can see (and appreciate) that the banner on the mast of the second ship carries the arms of the Altieri family, who commissioned the painting. They claimed descent from Tullus Hostilius, second king of Rome and one of these described by Anchises to Aeneas as *Romanos tuos* (vi.789).

There are many versions of Aeneas’s armour, as it is commissioned, made or delivered. The Flemish painter Bartolomeus Spranger comes very close to Venus’s calculated seduction of Vulcan in *Venus and Vulcan* (© WGA21693). There are several versions done by the family Brueghel. One, by the elder Jan (© galeria doria pamphilj *venus and vulcan*), has Vulcan in a veritable junkyard of pieces of armour; the scene is a cavernous ruin like the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome, where the painter had lived from 1589 to 1596; Vulcan’s identity is emphasized by the shadowy appearance of Etna, smoking in the distance, while Venus, accompanied by Cupid, seems like nothing so much as a long-suffering customer.

The theme was developed as part of the painter's series *Allegory of the Elements*. Vulcan, of course, becomes Fire. In Jan de Bray Solomonz' version the interest lies in the massive physical strength of the Cyclopes (though they are portrayed as ordinary men). We see them naked from Cupid's eye level as they hammer at the piece on the anvil (© Jan de Bray Solomonz *venus and vulcan*). Van Dyck, by contrast reduces the scene to social comedy: (© van dyck *thetis and hephaestus*). The painting has been misnamed by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; it is not hard to see their error.

Venus presenting Aeneas with his armour forms another group. Two paintings may represent it. The Tate Gallery has a painting by the English baroque artist James Thornhill, who carried out many public commissions, including the interior of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral and the Painted Hall at Greenwich. It too has been misnamed (© Tate T00814), but the single winged *putto* who inconspicuously manipulates the shield in the bottom right-hand corner is the artist's tactful indication that we have here Venus, but not Venus in playful mode. Thornhill has also answered one of our questions about Aeneas: he clearly has no armour of his own at the moment Venus makes her presentation. In addition, Thornhill takes seriously the last lines of the book: Aeneas lifting this mighty burden onto his shoulder.

Pompeo Batoni dominated the art world of Rome in the mid-eighteenth century. Best known for his portraits, many of them of British visitors doing the Grand Tour, he also painted religious and mythical subjects, among them a pair: *Hercules Choosing the Path of Virtue over Pleasure* and *Aeneas Receiving His Arms* (© Liechtenstein collections GE161 and 163). Batoni has thought carefully about Aeneas's shield: the upper half of the centre panel is a sea-battle and the lower half a triumphal procession. Unlike Thornhill however he has not allowed for the gravity of the shield: it is lightly raised even by one of Venus's *putti*.

Outside the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence are two huge statues: Michelangelo's *David* (in copy) and *Hercules with Cacus* by Baccio Bandinelli (© Bandinelli Hercules and Cacus). The statue makes an ironic pendant to Virgil's narrative. In Virgil Hercules is a type

of Augustus. For the Florentine state too Hercules had been, since the fourteenth century, a symbol of the victory of the forces of order. When the statue was first proposed, probably in 1504, he represented the triumph of the Republic over its enemies, currently the exiled Medici. When the statue was dedicated, in 1534, he represented victory over the republicans by the recently reinstalled Medici. In fact, the statue seems to represent a moment of hesitation on Hercules's part. He stands there, club at the ready (no post-Virgilian representations have Cacus killed as he was in Virgil), victim at his mercy, but looking away, as if thinking of something else. A Turnus moment?

The most Virgilian of illustrations of Hercules and Cacus is Nicolas Poussin's 1656 painting (nicolaspoussin.org/cacus). The foreground is an Arcadian scene, while Hercules himself stands huge, pale and distant, isolated from human contact, under a mighty crag. The mountain is well described by Virgil's decorative description of the Aventine (190); the Arcadian foreground can easily represent Evander's pastoral Pallanteum.

A major, if misguided, contribution to the reception of Book viii is made by the poet W. H. Auden. There are two poems, *The Shield of Achilles* (1955) and, with reference to Virgil, *Secondary Epic* (1955/6). Both of them seem to be putting ancient poets right. In *The Shield of Achilles* Hephaestus has portrayed not the many-sided universe of *Iliad* xviii but a dreary and dreadful warscape where a ragged urchin wanders aimlessly and 'has never heard / Of any world where promises were kept, / And one might weep because another wept.' It is a powerful piece. But it seems to assume that war in the *Iliad* is glorious and then 'corrects' that idea. In fact the *Iliad* is precisely about one who can 'weep because another wept': as Achilles does in the company of Priam in xxiv; we need to think not of Homer but of Auden, having lived through the Second World War and now facing the triumphalism of the victors. In *Secondary Epic* the poet impatiently corrects Virgil: 'No, Virgil, no: / Not even the first of the Romans can learn / His Roman history in the future tense.' 'What cause could he' (Vulcan) 'show why he didn't foresee / The future beyond 31 B.C.?' Virgil, says the poet,

creates a fundamentally false picture of growth and triumph, ignoring the certainty of decline and disaster. Auden, in just the same post-war circumstances, is taking the line that Virgil's world view is Augustan, blinkered and untrue to reality. He composes lines for a description of a prophecy on the Shield of a later event: the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410: 'Alaric has avenged Turnus.' Auden was writing just before the revolutionary change in assessment of Virgil associated with the 'Harvard School' (p. 17) which laid great emphasis on the idea that Virgil, well aware of the inadequacy of Augustan propaganda, presents, in one way or another, a different and darker message.

Some Further Reading

The text is that of R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969.

There are three very valuable editions of *Aeneid* viii as a single text: those by P. T. Eden (1975), K. W. Gransden (Cambridge 1976) and C. J. Fordyce with J. D. Christie (Oxford 1977). Eden's is the most detailed, but it is never clear what text he is using; Gransden shows most clearly the influence of current literary thought and is full of interesting comparison with English literature. There are two commentaries on the whole epic: by Conington and Nettleship, first published in 1875 but still clear and useful; also by R. D. Williams, inevitably less detailed than the single texts, but very well planned with the student in mind. All of these are currently available (Conington: Bristol Phoenix Press; Williams: Bristol Classical Press) except for that of Eden. Not quite an edition but full of material specific to viii is W. Warde Fowler, 'Aeneas at the Site of Rome' (1917, available from Kessinger Legacy Reprints).

Of the very many modern translations of Virgil available, I keep coming back to David West (Penguin), Robert Fagles (also Penguin) and C. Day Lewis (Oxford World's Classics). Classic older translations are those by John Dryden and, for an experience of the power of Renaissance Scots, Gavin Douglas. (Reading Douglas is not unlike reading Chaucer; there is a semi-simplified edition available from the Modern Humanities Research Association.)

There are several admirable short books covering some or all aspects of Virgil's writings and his life and times: W. A. Camps, 'An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid' (Oxford 1969), Jasper Griffin, 'Virgil' in the series 'Ancients in Action' (Oxford 1984, and then Bristol Classical Press 2001), K. W. Gransden, 'Virgil, the Aeneid' (Cambridge 1990), Richard Jenkyns, 'Classical Epic' (dealing with both Homer and Virgil), (Bristol Classical Press 1992).

Three collections of essays contain a number of very important articles: Oxford Readings in Vergil's *Aeneid* (1990) (ORVA), Nicholas

Horsfall: 'A Companion to the Study of Virgil' (Leiden 1995) and *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997) (CCV).

Suggestions of more extensive works: Viktor Pöschl, 'The Art of Virgil' (Ann Arbor 1962); K. W. Gransden, 'Virgil's Iliad' (Cambridge 1984); Philip Hardie, 'Virgil's *Aeneid*: Cosmos and Imperium' (Oxford 1986); R. O. A. M. Lyne, 'Further Voices in Virgil's *Aeneid*' (Oxford 1987); Michael Putnam 'Virgil's Epic Designs' (Yale 1998).

Highly important works of reference are the Virgil Encyclopaedia and the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD) (both available in hard copy and online); I have used the great Italian compilation *Enciclopedia Vergiliana* (Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1991) only for one illustration.

Some source of topographical information is important for Book viii; much to be recommended is L. Richardson, 'A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome' (Johns Hopkins 1992).

An excellent reference work for all matters of mythology is Jenny March's 'Dictionary of Classical Mythology' (Cassell 1998).

For the reception of the *Aeneid*, see Philip Hardie's 'The Last Trojan Hero' (I. B. Tauris 2014) and two collections 'Virgil and his Influence' ed. Charles Martindale (Bristol Classical Press 1984) and 'A Companion to Virgil's *Aeneid* and its Tradition' (VAT) eds. Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam (Blackwell 2010).

Other works are mentioned in the notes or the introduction where they are relevant.

Aeneid VIII: The Latin text

1–17 *Led by Turnus, the Latini and their allies prepare for war.*

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit, et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acres concussit equos, utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi; simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium, saevitque iuventus 5
effera. ductores primi Messapus et Ufens
contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt
auxilia, et latos vastant cultoribus agros.
mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros, 10
advectum Aenean classi, victosque penates
inferre, et fatis regem se dicere posci
edoceat, multasque viro se adiungere gentes
Dardanio, et late Latio increbescere nomen:
quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur, 15
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.

18–80 *In a dream Aeneas is visited by the river god Tiberinus, who encourages him to seek help from Evander's city Pallanteum. Aeneas prays to the god in gratitude and makes preparation for the journey.*

Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc, 20
in partesque rapit varias, perque omnia versat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis,
sole repperctum aut radiantis imagine lunae,
omnia pervolitat late loca, iamque sub auras

erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.	25
nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnes alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat, cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello, procubuit, seramque dedit per membra quietem.	30
huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno populeas inter senior se attollere frondes visus (eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu carbasus, et crines umbrosa tegebat harundo), tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:	35
'ō sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem qui revehis nobis, aeternaque Pergama servas, exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis, hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates. neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae	40
concessere deum. iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum, litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit, alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.	45
[hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,] ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam. haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat expedias victor, paucis (adverte) docebo.	50
Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum, qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti, delegere locum, et posuere in montibus urbem Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum. hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;	55
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge. ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam, adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem. surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris	

Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque 60
 supplicibus supera votis. mihi victor honorem
 persolves. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
 stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem,
 caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.
 hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.' 65
 Dixit, deinde lacu fluvius se condidit alto
 ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.
 surgit, et aetherii spectans orientia solis
 lumina, rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
 sustinet, ac tales effundit ad aethera voces: 70
 'Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus omnibus unde est,
 tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
 accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
 quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
 fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis, 75
 semper honore meo, semper celebrare donis
 corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
 adsis o tantum, et propius tua numina firmes.'
 sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremes
 remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis. 80

81–101 *Sacrifice to Juno. Journey to Pallanteum*

Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
 candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
 procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus;
 quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,
 mactat sacra ferens, et cum grege sistit ad aram. 85
 Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
 leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
 mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
 sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
 ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo: 90
 labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae,
 miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe

scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.
 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant,
 et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur 95
 arboribus, viridesque secant placido aequore silvas.
 sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,
 cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
 tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
 aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat. 100
 ocius advertunt proras urbiue propinquant.

102–25 *The Trojans are welcomed by Evander's son Pallas.*

Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
 Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat
 ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
 una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus 105
 tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.
 ut celsas videre rates atque inter opacum
 adlabi nemus et tacitos incumbere remis,
 terrentur visu subito, cunctique relictis
 consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas 110
 sacra vetat, raptoque volat telo obvius ipse,
 et procul e tumulto: 'iuvenes, quae causa subegit
 ignotas temptare vias? quo tenditis?' inquit.
 'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'
 tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta, 115
 paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae:
 'Troiugenas et tela vides inimica Latinis,
 quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.
 Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
 Dardaniae venisse duces socia arma rogantes.' 120
 obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas:
 'egredere o quicumque es,' ait 'coramque parentem
 adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes.'
 excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit;
 progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt. 125

126–51 *Aeneas introduces himself to Evander, explaining family connections and common interests.*

Tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
 ‘optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
 et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,
 non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas,
 quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis; 130
 sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum
 cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
 coniungere tibi et fatis egere volentem.
 Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
 Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus, 135
 advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
 edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes.
 vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
 Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;
 at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas, 140
 idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.
 sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
 his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
 temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
 obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni. 145
 gens eadem quae te crudeli Daunia bello
 insequitur; nos si pellant, nihil afore credunt
 quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittunt,
 et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
 accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello 150
 pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuventus.’

152–74 *Evander responds, welcoming Aeneas with recollections of Aeneas’s father and promising to help him. He invites Aeneas to join him in celebrating the feast.*

Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
 iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.

tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
 accipio agnoscoque libens! ut verba parentis 155
 et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque recorder!
 nam memini Hesionae visentem regna sororis
 Laomedontiaden Priamum Salamina petentem
 protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere fines.
 tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas, 160
 mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum
 Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat
 Anchises. mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore
 compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram;
 accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi. 165
 ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
 discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam,
 frenaque bina, meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.
 ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,
 et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet, 170
 auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.
 interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,
 annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes
 nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'

175–83 *The feast proceeds.*

Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi 175
 pocula, gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,
 praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis
 accipit Aenean solioque invitat acerno.
 tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos
 viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris 180
 dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.
 vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus
 perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.

Evander tells Aeneas about the origin of the feast: Hercules's victory over the monster Cacus.

Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi,
 rex Euandrus ait: 'non haec sollemnia nobis, 185
 has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
 vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
 imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
 servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.
 iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem, 190
 disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
 stat domus, et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
 hic spelunca fuit vasto summoti recessu,
 semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
 solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti 195
 caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
 ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
 huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
 ore vomens ignes magna se mole ferebat.
 attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas 200
 auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor
 tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
 Alcides aderat, taurosque hac victor agebat
 ingentes, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.
 at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum 205
 aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
 quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
 avertit, totidem forma superante iuvenas.
 atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
 cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum 210
 indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco;
 quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
 interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret
 Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
 discessu mugire boves atque omne querelis 215

impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.
 reddidit una boum vocem, vastoque sub antro
 mugit, et Caci spem custodita fefellit.
 hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
 felle dolor: rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum 220
 robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis.
 tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem
 turbatumque oculis; fugit ilicet ocior Euro
 speluncamque petit, pedibus timor addidit alas.
 ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis 225
 deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
 pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postes,
 ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius, omnemque
 accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
 dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira 230
 lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat
 limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.
 stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
 speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
 dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum. 235
 hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbibat ad amnem,
 dexter in adversum nitens concussit, et imis
 avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
 impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
 dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis. 240
 at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
 regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
 non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
 infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
 pallida, dis invisae, superque immane barathrum 245
 cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.
 ergo insperata deprensam luce repente
 inclusumque cavo saxo atque insueta rudentem
 desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma
 advocat, et ramis vastisque molaribus instat. 250

ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
 faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
 evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca
 prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
 fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris. 255
 non tulit Alcides animis, seque ipse per ignem
 praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
 fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
 hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
 corripit, in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens 260
 elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.
 panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revulsis,
 abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae
 caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadaver
 protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo 265
 terribiles oculos, vultum villosaque saetis
 pectora semiferi atque exstinctos faucibus ignes.
 ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
 servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
 et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri 270
 hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
 dicetur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper.
 quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
 cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris.
 communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.' 275
 dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra
 velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,
 et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocuis omnes
 in mensam laeti libant, divosque precantur.

 Devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo. 280
 iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
 pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
 instaurant epulas, et mensae grata secundae
 dona ferunt, cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
 tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum 285

populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
 hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
 Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima novercae
 monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit angues,
 ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes, 290
 Troiamque Oechalamque, ut duros mille labores
 rege sub Eurystheo fati Iunonis iniquae
 pertulerit. 'tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres
 Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas
 prodigia et vastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem. 295
 te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
 ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
 nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
 arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
 Lernaean turba capitum circumstetit anguis. 300
 salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,
 et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.'
 talia carminibus celebrant; super omnia Caci
 speluncam adiciunt, spirantemque ignibus ipsum.
 consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant. 305

Exim se cuncti divinis rebus ad urbem
 perfectis redeunt. ibat rex obsitus aevo,
 et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
 ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.
 miratur, facilesque oculos fert omnia circum 310
 Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
 exquiratque auditque virum monimenta priorum.
 tum rex Euandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
 'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
 gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata, 315
 quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
 aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
 sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
 primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
 arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul adeptis. 320

is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
 composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
 maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
 aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat, 325
 deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
 et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
 tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,
 saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
 tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris, 330
 a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim
 diximus; amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.
 me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
 Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
 his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda 335
 Carmentis Nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'

Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
 et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
 quam memorant, Nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
 vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros 340
 Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.
 hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asyllum
 rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
 Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycae.
 nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti, 345
 testaturque locum, et letum docet hospitii Argi.
 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
 aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
 iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
 dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant. 350
 'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem
 (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
 credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
 aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
 haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris, 355

reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
 talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta videbant 360
 Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
 ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina victor
 Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
 aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
 finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.' 365
 dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
 ingentem Aenean duxit, stratisque locavit
 effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
 nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplexitur alis.

At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater 370
 Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu
 Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis aureo
 incipit, et dictis divinum aspirat amorem:
 'dum bello Argolici vastabant Pergama reges
 debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces, 375
 non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
 artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
 incassumque tuos volui exercere labores,
 quamvis et Priami deberem plurima natis,
 et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem. 380
 nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
 ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen
 arma rogo, genetrix nato. te filia Nerei,
 te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.
 aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis 385
 ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum.'
 dixerat, et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
 cunctantem amplexu molli foveat. ille repente
 accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
 intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit, 390

non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
 ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos;
 sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.
 tum pater aeterno fatur devinctus amore:
 'quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit 395
 quo tibi, diva, mei? similis si cura fuisset,
 tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
 nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata vetabant
 stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.'
 et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est, 400
 quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae,
 quod fieri ferro liquidove potest electro,
 quantum ignes animaeque valent, absiste precando
 viribus indubitare tuis.' ea verba locutus
 optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petivit 405
 coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.

Inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
 curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
 cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
 impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitât ignes 410
 noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
 exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
 coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:
 haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
 mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilis surgit. 415
 insula Sicaniâ iuxta latus Aeoliâque
 erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,
 quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
 antra Aetnaea tonant, validique incudibus ictus
 auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cavernis 420
 stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
 Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
 hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.
 ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,
 Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon. 425

his informatum manibus iam parte polita
 fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
 deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
 tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosae
 addiderant, rutuli tres ignis et alitis Austri. 430
 fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
 miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
 parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucres
 instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes;
 aegidaeque horriferae, turbatae Palladis arma, 435
 certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
 conexosque angues ipsamque in pectore divae
 Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo.
 'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores,
 Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem: 440
 arma acri facienda viro. nunc viribus usus,
 nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
 praecipitate moras.' nec plura effatus, at illi
 ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
 sortiti. fluit aes ravis aurique metallum, 445
 vulnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.
 ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
 tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbes
 impediunt. alii ventosis follibus auras
 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt 450
 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus antrum;
 illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt
 in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe massam.

Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,
 Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitât alma 455
 et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.
 consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus
 et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis.
 tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ense
 demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens. 460

nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
 praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.
 hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat
 sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.
 nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat; 465
 filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.
 congressi iungunt dextras, mediisque residunt
 aedibus, et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
 rex prior haec:
 'maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam 470
 res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor,
 nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
 exiguae vires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
 hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.
 sed tibi ego ingentes populos opulentaque regnis 475
 iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
 ostentat: fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.
 haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
 urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
 gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis. 480
 hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
 imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis.
 quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
 effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!
 mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis 485
 componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
 tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentes
 complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
 at fessi tandem cives infanda furentem
 armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque 490
 obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.
 ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros
 confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.
 ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
 regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte repossunt. 495

his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam. toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes signaque ferre iubent, retinet longaevus haruspex fata canens: 'o Maeoniae delecta iuventus, flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira, nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem: externos optate duces.' tum Etrusca resedit hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum. ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon, succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam. sed mihi tarda gelu saeculisque effeta senectus invidet imperium seraeque ad fortia vires. natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt, ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor. hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri, Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis. Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi nomine Pallas.'	500
Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates, multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant, ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto. namque improvise vibratus ab aethere fulgor cum sonitu venit, et ruere omnia visa repente, Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor. suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens. arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare. obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros	520 525 530

agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
 tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
 quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
 hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
 si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras 535
 laturam auxilio.

heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
 quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
 scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
 Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.' 540

Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
 et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
 excitat, hesternumque larem parvosque penates
 laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentes
 Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus. 545
 post hinc ad naves graditur sociosque revisit,
 quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur
 praestantes virtute legit; pars cetera prona
 fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,
 nuntia ventura Ascanio rerumque patrisque. 550
 dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arva;
 ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
 pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.

Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem
 ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis. 555
 vota metu duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
 it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.
 tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
 haeret inexplētus lacrimans ac talia fatur:
 'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos, 560
 qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa
 stravi, scutorumque incendi victor acervos,
 et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
 nascenti cui tres animas Feronia mater

(horrendum dictu) dederat, terna arma movenda - 565
 ter leto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen omnes
 abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis:
 non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam,
 nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam
 huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeva dedisset 570
 funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem.
 at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
 Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
 et patrias audite preces. si numina vestra
 incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant, 575
 si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,
 vitam oro, patior quemvis durare laborem.
 sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
 nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
 dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri, 580
 dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
 complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius aures
 vulneret. haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
 fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.

Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis 585
 Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
 inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas
 in medio, chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
 qualis ubi Oceani perfuscus Lucifer unda,
 quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes, 590
 extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.
 stant pavidae in muris matres, oculisque sequuntur
 pulveream nubem et fulgentes aere catervas.
 olli per dumos, qua proxima meta viarum,
 armati tendunt: it clamor, et agmine facto 595
 quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.
 est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
 religione patrum late sacer; undique colles

inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
 Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos, 600
 arborum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
 qui primi fines aliquando habuere Latinos.
 haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
 castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri
 iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis. 605
 huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus
 succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.

At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
 dona ferens aderat, natumque in valle reducta
 ut procul egelido secretum flumine vidit, 610
 talibus adfata est dictis, seque obtulit ultro:
 'en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
 munera. ne mox aut Laurentes, nate, superbos
 aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
 dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit, 615
 arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.
 ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
 expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit,
 miraturque interque manus et brachia versat
 terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem, 620
 fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem,
 sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
 solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
 tum leves ocreas electro auroque recocto,
 hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum. 625
 illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
 haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi
 fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
 stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.
 fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro 630
 procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
 ludere pendentes pueros et lambere matrem

impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
 mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
 nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas 635
 consessu caveae, magnis Circensibus actis,
 addiderat, subitoque novum consurgere bellum
 Romulidis Tatiaoque seni Curibusque severis.
 post idem inter se posito certamine reges
 armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes 640
 stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.
 haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae
 distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),
 raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
 per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres. 645
 nec non Tarquinium eiectionem Porsenna iubebat
 accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
 Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
 illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
 aspiceres, pontem auderet quia vellere Cocles 650
 et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
 in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
 stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat,
 Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
 atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser 655
 porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
 Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
 defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.
 aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,
 virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla 660
 auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscat
 gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
 hic exsultantes Salios nudosque Lupercos
 lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
 extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem 665
 pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit
 Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,

et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
 pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
 secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. 670
 haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
 aurea, sed fluctu spumabant caerula cano,
 et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
 aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
 in medio classes aeratas, Actia bella, 675
 cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
 fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
 hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
 cum patribus populoque, penetibus et magnis dis,
 stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammās 680
 laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.
 parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
 arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,
 tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.
 hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis, 685
 victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
 Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
 Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.
 una omnes ruere, ac totum spumare reductis
 convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor. 690
 alta petunt; pelago credas innare revulsas
 Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos,
 tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.
 stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum
 spargitur, arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt. 695
 regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
 necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues.
 omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
 contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
 tela tenent. saevit medio in certamine Mavors 700
 caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
 et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,

quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
 Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
 desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, 705
 omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
 ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
 vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funes.
 illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
 fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri, 710
 contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
 pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
 caeruleum in gremium latebrosaue flumina victos.
 at Caesar, triplici in vectus Romana triumpho
 moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat, 715
 maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
 laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
 omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
 ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
 ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi 720
 dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
 postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,
 quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.
 hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
 hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos 725
 finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,
 extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
 indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.

Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
 miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet 730
 attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

Abbreviations

<i>A.</i>	Aeneid
abl.	ablative
abl. abs.	ablative absolute
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
CCV.	The Cambridge Companion to Virgil
cf.	compare
conj.	conjunction, or conjugation
dat.	dative
DH.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>E.</i>	Eclogues
f., ff.	'and the following line/lines'
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
<i>G.</i>	Georgics
gen.	genitive
Gk.	Greek
GL.	Gildersleeve and Lodge
imperf.	imperfect
indecl.	indeclinable
infin.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
intrans.	intransitive
Intro.	Introduction
lit.	literally
<i>LL.</i>	(Varro) <i>Lingua Latina</i>

masc.	masculine
mss.	manuscripts
n.	note
neut.	neuter
NH.	(Pliny) Natural History
NLG.	New Latin Grammar
nom.	nominative
obj.	object
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary
ORVA	Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
pluperf.	pluperfect
ppl.	past participle
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
Prop.	Propertius
rel.	relative
RG.	Res Gestae Divi Augusti Augustus' memorial inscription
sc.	(scilicet): 'understand the missing word ...'
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> 'under the word', that is 'look up under'
sing.	singular
subj.	subject <i>or</i> subjunctive
superl.	superlative
trans.	transitive
trs.	translate, translated
VAT.	A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition
voc.	vocative



Map 1 Central Italy.

Notes on the Text

There are two indexes: 1. Literary, grammatical and metrical terms. 2. Names. A list of Abbreviations appears after the Text.

Two Latin Grammars have been quoted: (i) Gildersleeve and Lodge (GL) and (ii) C. E. Bennett's New Latin Grammar (NLG), available online at thelatinlibrary.com/bennett. Both of these are American publications and more useful than anything currently available in the UK; unfortunately American terminology varies at some points from British. I have tried to make the references useful even when there is a clash of terminology.

For all metrical matters, see Introduction pp. 55–60.

Brackets round words in translated passages normally indicate words which are not there in the Latin and need to be supplied in English.

Asterisks refer to topics mentioned in the Indexes.

The symbol ◉ refers to relevant illustrations which can be accessed online by using the phrase following it in a search engine.

References to passages in the *Aeneid* are normally given by book and line number alone.

There are several places, even where the text seems certain, where alternative explanations are presented without a recommendation as to which is preferable. I have not been able to make up my mind. Others may. But sometimes the exact nuance of a word or phrase is irrecoverable. Sometimes even Latin-speaking readers may have faced the same uncertainty. In such cases Virgil is either guilty of unclarity or deliberately offering us a choice (or a combination of both).

Julius Caesar's heir, first Emperor of Rome, is at the centre of any discussion of the *Aeneid*. What name to give him? According to modern convention he is called Octavian until 27 BCE, when the Roman senate voted to give him the designation Augustus. Virgil knows nothing of this convention and calls him Augustus already at Actium, 31 BCE. I have been inconsistent, calling him Augustus whenever it did not

seem entirely inappropriate, but Octavian when the point of a comment relates to something obviously early in his career.

Servius, the author of a fourth-century CE commentary on Virgil is mentioned frequently. Servius based his notes extensively on the lost commentary composed earlier in the century by Aelius Donatus. A version of Servius, amplified by material apparently taken straight from Donatus, was compiled later, probably in the seventh or eighth century. It was published in 1600 by Pierre Daniel and is variously referred to as Servius Auctus, Servius Danielis or, as in these notes, DServius. Much of what he says is trivial or unconvincing (like modern editions!), but much is also informative and perceptive, and he is very valuable as a near approach to a reading of Virgil from the ancient world.

‘Virgil’ or ‘Vergil’? The poet knew himself as ‘Vergilius’. In late antiquity, when he acquired the popular status of sage and semi-prophet, he became ‘Virgilius’ (perhaps because, as a spiritual guide he could have a staff (*virga*)) and in this form came down to Western European languages. Over the last century there has been a tendency, not yet predominant, to give him back his ‘e’.

1–2 **ut**: the only other book whose first word is a subordinating conjunction is iii. Even there we have a firm *postquam*, while here it is not immediately clear what is the value of *ut*. We have to move rapidly on, so that the word itself (which turns out to mean ‘as soon as’) contributes to the atmosphere of haste. **belli signum ... extulit**: Servius refers to emergency musters at Rome. ‘If there was a *tumultus* (i.e. a war in Italy), the designated commander went to the Capitol (that is, for Turnus, the *arx*), displayed two standards and proclaimed “Let any follow me who wish our nation safe”’. The procedure was called *coniuratio*, from the fact that all those joining up ‘took the oath together’. Here, of course, Turnus is not a ‘designated commander’, he is self-appointed, propelled by the malignant activity of Juno and Allecto (vii.406–74). **Laurenti**: abl. from adj. *Laurens*. The *arx* is evidently that of the city of Latinus, which is never given a name by Virgil. The city was sometimes identified with Lavinium (apparently by Tibullus in

ii.5.49), but from A.xii.193–4 it seems clear that Virgil intended the two to be different. There is an expression *ager Laurens* which refers to the coastal tract for a few miles south of the Tiber estuary (cf. 71 *Laurentes nymphae*).

2. **rauco ... cantu**: alliteration* of *c* and *r* for military effect, cf. vi.165 *aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu*.

3. A normal expression would be *impulit equos, concussit arma*: ‘he drove his horses ahead and brandished his weapons’; the abnormality here is a deliberate variation, justified by the regular use of *concutere* with ‘reins’ and the practice (cf. x.568) of clashing shields.

4–5. **turbati (sunt) animi**. In the following sentence note the wide hyperbaton* **omne ... Latium** and the narrower **tumultu ... trepido**; the phrases are varied adj./noun and noun/adj. **coniurat**: see 1–2n.

6–8. **effera**: the adj. stressed here not by hyperbaton* but by the enjambment* and the abrupt first-second foot diaeresis*. (The pause is harsher than that in 2, being followed here by a new sentence with asyndeton*.) The placing of the word at the end of the sentence suggests the result of Turnus’s activities: war-madness was successfully aroused. **primi**: either ‘first’ in chronological order or ‘first’ in standing. Messapus, ‘horse-tamer, son of Neptune’ (vii.691); Ufens: leader of a plundering mountain community (vii.745 ff). Mezentius: given significance as the third member of the list and by his epithet ‘despiser of the gods’ (also at vii.648). His importance appears in 478–495 (see notes there) and x.689–908 (see the Summary, p. 26).

8–9. **cogunt auxilia** and **latos ... agros** are two ways of looking at the same process, a regular feature of Virgil’s style (‘theme and variation’). **latos**: ‘the broad fields’ – but the effect is more like *latē*: ‘far and wide’. **vastant** is an effective hyperbole* ‘they lay the countryside waste’, that is ‘they empty it *away from* its cultivators’. (**cultoribus** abl. of separation*; the construction is the same with *privo* ‘deprive’: *M. Bibulum ... patria*

privare cupiebas Cic. *Vat.* 24, 'You wanted to deprive Marcus Bibulus of his country.') Virgil laments similar ruin in his contemporary Italy in *G.i.506 abductis colonis*.

9–14. 'In addition (**et**) Venulus is sent to the city of great Diomedes, to ask for help, and to explain (*edoceat* 13) that Trojans were settling in Latium, and that Aeneas ...' **petat** and **edoceat** are subjunctives of purpose* after **qui** (NLG 282.2, GL630). **posci** (12) depends on *dicere* – '(... to explain that) Aeneas is saying that he is being demanded as king by Destiny' (**fatis** instrumental* abl., Destiny being impersonal). **advectum** understand *esse*. **classi**: abl. for standard *classe*. **victos penates**: the phrase was used contemptuously also by Juno (i.68). **inferre**: the word was used by the poet of a key feature of Aeneas's mission (*inferretque deos Latio* i.6); here with an unfavourable colour – 'obtrude', 'foist'.

Diomedes was one of the greatest heroes on the Greek side in the Trojan war. In *Iliad* v. he fights against the gods and succeeds in wounding Venus. Legend said that in revenge for this she prevented him returning home to Argos, and that it was only with great difficulty that he came in exile to Italy and founded the city of Arpi in the far south-east. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* xiv, 457–513.)

Venulus is ordered to make five separate points, crammed into the three lines 10–12. Military briskness or anxious haste? In the compound **edoceat** with the enjambment we hear Turnus's tone as he instructs Venulus: 'Make *absolutely* sure that he gets this.'

multas ... nomen: a new acc. and infin. following *edoceat*. It conveys an untruth, which only becomes true *because of* Turnus's bellicose action. As it stands it seems to be a distortion of Ilioneus's words, misleading themselves, in vii.236–8: 'Many peoples and nations have sought to attach us to themselves.' For such self-interested misinformation cf. also Aeneas's words to Evander in lines 146–9. **Dardanio** is designed to attract Diomedes's attention in two ways: Aeneas is a *Trojan* and therefore an old enemy; he has a connection with *Dardanus*, which

makes his claim to residence in Italy stronger and more alarming. (See note on lines 135–41.)

15–17. These lines still depend on *edoceat*, with **apparere** as the following infin. ‘(He is to explain that) it is more plainly evident...’ **quid struat**: ‘what (Aeneas) is plotting’. *Struo* has sinister overtones (OLD6). *Quid ... coeptis* and *quem ... cupiat* are theme and variation – intended to sound menacing. **ipsi**: that is Diomedes. **Turno regi ... regi ... Latino**: The word ‘king’ and the chiasmus* with the names are designed to add weight to the request. Turnus’s status as *rex* is debatable. The implication of this sentence is, of course, that Diomedes does not need to be told about the imperialist ambitions of the Trojans (as Turnus sees them).

Venulus’s mission fails, as he reports in xi.225–295, and he himself is carried off in battle by Aeneas’s Etruscan ally Tarchon (xi.742–4).

18. **Talia per Latium** sc. *gerebantur*, ‘were being done’. **Laomedontius**: Laomedon was father of Priam, the last king of Troy, so the adjective is used as equivalent to ‘Trojan’. Aeneas is not descended from Laomedon: his great-grandfather Assaracus was brother to Laomedon’s father Ilus (see the table in the notes on 134–42). **herōs**: nom. sing.: the word is Greek in form. It is used 19 times of individuals in the Aeneid, 10 times of Aeneas and twice of Turnus.

19. **magno ... aestu**: ‘is tossed on a great surging flood of anxiety’.

20–21 = iv.285–6, where Aeneas is shaken by the appearance of Mercury with Jupiter’s command to leave Carthage. **atque ... illuc**: ‘This way and that dividing the swift mind’ (Tennyson, *Morte d’ Arthur* 60). **rapit**: ‘hurries (his thoughts) along’ (OLD 9,10).

22–5. The simile* is closely derived from Apollonius (see Intro pp. 16–18) *Argonautica* iii.756–9. Medea is racked with anxiety as she thinks of Jason, who is to face the fire-breathing bulls of her father King Aetes next morning. ‘And in her breast her heart beat fast, just as inside a house a sunbeam quivers, coming off water which has just been poured into a cauldron or pail. In a rapid whirl it shakes and

dances here and there.' In Virgil's version: '... as when the quivering light of water, bounced off bronze cauldrons by the sun or the image of the shining moon, goes flitting far and wide over every (surface), and is now directed skyward and strikes the coffering of the ceiling high above.' Take **sicut ubi** together; *ubi* is delayed in order not to begin the simile too mechanically. **aquae lumen** is a remarkable phrase, perhaps suggested by a phrase of Lucretius's – *splendor aquāi* (iv.211) – in a comparable passage about reflections in water. In Apollonius the water quivers because it has only just been poured into the container; this is left implicit in Virgil. **repercussum**: as translated here the sun is seen in Lucretian terms, hurling out light in the form of particles which bounce off the water. **imagine lunae**: a periphrasis* simply meaning 'the moon'. **iamque erigitur**: this makes sense if the water has settled and the reflected light is concentrated into a single beam. **summi ... tecti**: 'the ceiling up on high' rather than 'the top of the ceiling': OLD 1b, cf. *sidera summa* Ov. *Fast.* v.39. **laquearia** are the rectangular hollow spaces between criss-crossing roof-beams, made into a decorative feature by Roman architects (Ennius *Scaenica* frg 95V).

Apollonius's Medea is in love with Jason, but to help him would be to betray her father. Her thoughts range erratically: shall I help Jason? shall I help him this way? shall I help him that way? shall I kill myself? She gets no sleep at all. Virgil adapts this romantic episode: Aeneas's thoughts are as anxious as Medea's and as full of dire possibilities, but he does in the end fall asleep (30). The conclusion of the simile (*iamque erigitur*), not in Apollonius, seems to suggest that his thoughts settle down and allow him to sleep in preparation for the resolution of anxiety which will then come to him.

26–7. **Nox erat**: this phrase, with its accompanying suggestion (at greater or lesser length) of a silent sleeping world, introduces a paragraph on two other occasions in the Aeneid. In iii.147 it is the background to a visit to Aeneas by the Penates, who have come to tell him not to settle in Crete. In iv.522 it is the setting for Dido's anguished debate with herself before she makes her final resolve on suicide. To these one can add

ix.224, where the Trojan council of war attempts in Aeneas's absence to deal with the threat from Turnus, and perhaps even ii.268, Aeneas asleep just before he is visited by a vision of Hector. On each of these occasions where Aeneas is involved, night is the prelude to a divine visitation. The possibly encouraging conclusion to the water-and-light simile is consistent with this. **alituum** is gen.pl.; *ales* would normally give *aliturum*, not usable in a hexameter without an awkward elision*. Virgil takes the *-uum* ending, as if the word were fourth-declension, from Lucretius (ii.928, v.801, etc.). **alituum genus** is in apposition* to and expands the idea of **animalia fessa**.

28–30. **cum**: this is an instance of '*cum inversum*'* (NLG 288.2, GL581) where the *cum*-clause follows the main clause, has its verb in the indicative and carries the weight of the sentence. Note how the first words of each of these three lines form the important clause: *cum pater Aeneas procubuit*. **turbatus pectora**: 'troubled at heart'. *pectora* is acc. This is often called the 'retained* accusative'; the usage is explained (though not so named) in NLG 256.2, GL338.1. Or one can describe it as acc. of respect*: Tacitus describes German women as *nudae lacertos* 'bare as to their arms' (*Germania* 17.3). **procubuit** suggests falling heavily (OLD3) and cf. 83. *Gelida, procubuit* and *seram* all contribute to the state of mind described in *tristi ... bello*. **seram**: the word is an adj., with *quietem*, but the idea is 'only late at night did he sleep', that is adverbial. The figure (adj. with adverbial effect) is common in Virgil, who avoids all but the simplest adverbs (as being prosaic?). **dedit**: 'permitted', 'admitted'. It is not that Aeneas *can't* sleep (as Medea can't), it is that exhaustion competes with his heavy responsibility.

31–5. The main verb is **visus (est)**, with infins. dependent on it **attollere**, perhaps also **adfari** and **demere** in 35 – see below. The verb may mean 'he was seen to raise himself up' or 'he seemed to ...' – the one true for sleeping Aeneas, the other for us, the observers. **ipse**: emphatic: 'the very god of the place'. This is Aeneas's first encounter with a feature of the true Rome. **fluvio ... amoeno**: either abl. of separation* 'from his stream' or descriptive* abl. 'Tiber of the fair stream', Virgil's version of

the Greek epic adj. καλλιρροος ‘fair-flowing’. **populeas ... frondes**: the river is lined with trees, as is apparent from 95–6; the poplar appears again in 276 as a favourite of Hercules. The words frame the line as the trees frame the figure of the god. **eum**: *is*, with its cases, is a colourless word rarely used by Virgil (*eum* only six times in the *Aeneid*); it is surprising to see it here apparently emphasized at the beginning of its clause. **tenuis ... harundo**: statues of Tiberinus (esp. a fine version on the Capitol hill in Rome: [Wikipedia – Tiberinus](#)) present him like this, as *senior*, that is well-bearded and with *gravitas*, robed from the waist down (the Augustan poet Grattius described the Tiber as especially productive of the linen *carbasus*), and wreathed with or associated with the *harundo*. **tum** seems to separate the appearance of the god from his speaking, thus to make both individually important.

35. The line has already occurred twice in the context of reassuring visions: ii.775 and iii.153. This would be the only case in Virgil of a line repeated three times in absolutely identical form; Servius says of the lines in ii and iii, though not of that in viii, that many or most texts of his own day do not include them. It is possible here to take the infinitives **adfari** and **demere** after **visus** in 33. They can also be seen as historic infinitives* (NLG 335, GL647) (and have to be so seen in ii.775). The hist. infin. equates to the imperf. indic., so encourages the translation ‘began to speak’ ‘attempted to remove’.

36–7. **sate** (and **expectate** 38): voc. of the past participle. **gente**: abl. of source* (NLG 215, GL395 n.1). **Troianam ... nobis**: with these words Tiberinus indicates that Aeneas is fulfilling the instructions given to him by Hector in ii.289–95. **aeterna**: like *seram* (30), adj. used with adverbial effect. **Pergama**: strictly the citadel of Troy, here standing for the whole nation.

38–9. **solo Laurenti** and **arvis Latinis** (abl. of place* without prep.: NLG 228.1d, GL385 n.1) are indistinguishable: an emphatic doublet, as is the pair **certa domus** and **certi penates**. **hic tibi**: understand **est**. The stressed last position in the line is deliberately given to **penates**. Hector (above) had said ‘Troy entrusts to you its sacred objects and its *penates*.’

Ancient images of Aeneas, on coins, sculpture and in wall-painting present him as carrying his father, guiding his son, and bearing (either in his own hands or those of his father) a chest or some actual images. (The statue in the Galleria Borghese in Rome, attributed to Bernini (1618), presents these features brilliantly (©artchive.com bernini aeneas). The *penates* were given a home at Lavinium, and (though there were also other histories) there remained throughout classical times a regular ritual in honour of the Penates there: *sacra publica populi Romani deum Penatium* (the phrase appears in Asconius's commentary on Cicero's speech for Scaurus). The command **ne absiste** in one way simply delays and thus emphasizes the reference to *penates*; it might also suggest some hesitation on Aeneas's part at the solemnity of Tiberinus's words. In classical times *ne* and *neu* + pres. imper. are found only in poetry.

40–1. **tumor ... deum**. The plural **irae** would normally mean 'outbursts of rage' (NLG 55.4c, GL204n.5) so that the phrase, a hendiadys*, would suggest 'all the outbursts of swelling fury'. **concessēre** (= *concesserunt*) most naturally means 'have given way' (to a more favourable attitude). This is at best misleading: the last four books of the poem are dominated by Juno's abiding anger. DServius observes *utiliter dissimulat*: 'he conceals the truth for a good reason' – that is that Aeneas needs encouragement.

Line 41 is one of the nearly 60 unfinished lines in the Aeneid (others in viii: 469 and 536). It used to be thought possible that this was a deliberate effect on the part of Virgil. But in the *Life* (see Intro. pp. 4–5) Donatus describes Virgil's practice of composition. He wrote a prose sketch of the whole epic, at which he worked bit by bit (*particulatim*), 'taking nothing in its proper order'. This would naturally result in one section not fitting exactly onto another when Varius and Tucca took over the task of publishing the unfinished poem (see Intro. p. 9). Ancient readers and writers evidently did not take the unfinished lines as deliberate, since none of Virgil's many imitators attempted to reproduce the effect. Nor is there any trace of it in Virgil's other poems.

The combination of the unfinished line and the misleading character of Tiberinus's words prompted an anonymous completion of the line: *profugis nova moenia Teucris*: ('The anger of the gods has [finally] conceded) a new city to the exiled Trojans'.

42. **iamque**: an abrupt transition from past to future. **tibi**: with *iacebit* 44 (dat. of reference* NLG 188.1); take **tibi ... sus ... iacebit** as 'you will find a sow lying ...'. **vana** agreeing with **haec**, but again to be taken adverbially 'falsely'.

43. A line with the classic shape adj., adj., vb., noun, noun – a 'golden line', striking also for the alliteration* and assonance* of *i* and *l*. (Was it for this that Virgil substituted *ilices* for the poplars of 32?) The monosyllabic ending is striking. Ordinarily the verse end is arranged so as to avoid the clash of ictus* and accent* in the last two feet (see Intro. pp. 58–9); to end with a single monosyllable inevitably creates a strong clash. Sometimes there is a reference to the archaic* grandeur of Ennius (see 679n.). Here Virgil may be thinking of Lucretius (*Arcadius sus* Lucr. v.25) and there may be a deliberately comic touch if he is reminding us of his own wee beastie the *exiguus mus* of *Georgics* i.81 – the more so since *ingens* leads us to expect something magnificent (See Fordyce on vii.592.)

44. **triginta capitum fetus**: 'offspring consisting of thirty individuals': 'genitive of definition'* NLG 202 where it is called 'appositional'.

45. **alba ... albi**: the emphasis on *albus* is explained by 48.

46. The line is present (with *is* for *hic*) where the prophecy is first made, in iii.390–3 (see note on lines 35–46 below), but is omitted by two of the most reliable and ancient manuscripts.

Further note on lines 35–46.

There are several features of this passage which prompt editors to believe that it is one of those left unrevised by Virgil.

- (i) 35 is identical to ii.775 and iii.153 (see 35n.).

- (ii) The half-line 41.
- (iii) The fact that 43–5 are identical to the words uttered to Aeneas in another prophecy, by Helenus, in iii.390–3. There are some instances where the fulfilment of a prediction or instruction is described in the same words as those in which the original was uttered: Juno in iv.120–5, fulfilled with some repetition in 160–6; Jupiter's message in iv.226, 232–5, transmitted by Mercury with some repetition (and some artful change) in 270–1. But this passage is different: (a) it is not a fulfilment but a second utterance of the same prophecy; (b) the three lines 43–5 are word-for-word the same as iii.390–2, unparalleled in Virgil.
- (iv) 46 is identical to iii.393 apart from the first word, *hic* for *is*. But here it is missing from two important ancient manuscripts.

Even if these lines are not as Virgil would have wished to leave them, there is reason to think that he has made some preparation for them already in iii.389: 'when you are troubled beside the water of an out-of-the-way river' exactly gives Aeneas's condition at the beginning of viii.

The prodigy of the sow. As it stands and as it is explained by Tiberinus the prodigy is clear enough: Aeneas will find a sow with thirty white piglets (a miraculous number: 27 is apparently the current record – Horsfall on *Aeneid* iii, 389–93!); the number thirty signifies the number of years until Ascanius founds Alba Longa; their white colour sets the name for the city. But what has happened to Aeneas's city, the one which he knows he is to establish (ii.294–5)? The Trojans had been told (iii.255–7) that they would have reached their destination when they were forced to eat their tables. When this happened (vii.106–115) they remembered Anchises's instruction (vii.126–7) 'to build your first houses here with a rampart'. (Anchises uses the word *agger* – this is to be their fortified camp – rather than *moenia*, the city-word used by Hector in ii and the Harpy in iii.255.) Helenus's prophecy (iii.393=vi.46) was in broad terms true (Latium imagined from the far side of the Adriatic), but now, on the spot, the Tiber bank near its estuary has nothing to do with any permanent community of Aeneas.

Virgil is providing us with a shorthand account of the tradition, which is recorded, including a number of variations, by the third-century BCE Roman historian Fabius Pictor (FRH frag.3), Cato (*Origines* i frag 14) and Dionysius (i.56). In this version the sow is one which Aeneas has brought with him; he is sacrificing it in acknowledgement of the portent of the eaten tables (vii.107–27). He has previously received a prophetic instruction to ‘follow a four-footed creature’ and build a city where it collapses with exhaustion. The sacrificial sow escapes and runs until it collapses. Aeneas is (with difficulty) convinced that this is the right place for a provisional settlement – that is Lavinium – until another – Alba – is constructed after as many years as the sow is about to have piglets.

47. **ex quo**: ‘following from which’ somewhat loosely.

ter denis ... annis: ‘with thrice ten returning years’, an epic expression appropriate to a prophet. **redeuntibus** recalls the Homeric περιπλομένων ‘circling’.

48. A (deliberately) splendid line, framed by the two names with A and internal c-alliteration*. The verb in the centre is framed by the adjectival phrase **clari cognominis** (gen. of quality* NLG 203.1, GL365); the adj. suggests both ‘glorious’ and ‘bright’ at which point it is a near-synonym of *albus*.

49. **haud incerta**: litotes* for ‘absolutely certain’. **cano**: regularly of prophetic utterance (340).

50. **expedias**: ‘accomplish’; the subj. is potential* (NLG 280, GL257). **quod instat**: ‘the present task’. **victor**: ‘as victor’, emphatically placed at the end, almost ‘and emerge triumphant’. An important word in this book: cf. 61, 203 and 362. **paucis** sc. *verbis*; the idea is ‘concisely’ cf. vi.672, x.16 and xi.315. The same words are used by Juno explaining her plot to Venus in iv.116; **adverte** sc. *animum* ‘listen carefully’.

51–4. **Arcades, Euandrum, Pallanteum**. The future site of Rome is at this time occupied by a community which originated in Arcadia in central southern Greece. Their leader Evander had left his home city of

Pallanteion in circumstances variously described by Dionysius, Ovid, Pausanias and Servius: there was a civil war/he had murdered his father/ he was sent to found a colony. The central feature of these stories is the wish to provide the name of the Palatine Hill (*Pālatium* in *Georgics* i.499; *Pāl-* in Martial i.70.5, etc.) with a legendary origin, implausible as it sounds. Arcadian Pallanteion survived as a place long enough to be honoured by the second-century CE emperor Antoninus as the ancestor of Rome. Evander himself was son of Hermes (Pausanias); he has a human father Echemus and grandfather Pallas (Servius).

51. **oris**: *ora* is most commonly thought of as the sea coast, but its fundamental meaning is 'outer edge' from which it can come to mean, like *fines*, a territory or region.

genus in apposition* to *Arcades*. **Pallante**: this Pallas was Evander's grandfather (Servius); we shall shortly meet the other Pallas, Evander's son. **profectum**: 'descended from'.

52. **comites** predicative: 'as his companions'. **signa**: that is Evander's. **secuti**: sc. *sunt*. They followed Evander both out of personal loyalty and as their military commander.

53. **delegere**, **posuere**: both third person pl.perf.

54. **proavi**: strictly a great-grandfather; more generally 'forefather' in relation to the Arcadians as a whole, but also used for the alliteration. **Pallanteum**: The line ends with two spondees instead of the normal dactyl + spondee, making the rhythm slower and heavier. Such lines are not uncommon in Homer; they were used for conscious effect by Virgil's Greek predecessors Callimachus and Aratus, by Catullus and, sparingly, by Virgil himself (33 such lines in the *Aeneid*; the word for such a line is *spondeiazon**). Here we are strikingly introduced to another important name (see 48 and 51–4n).

55. **ducunt**: 'carry on' (OLD11, that is identical with *gerere*) but this is the only instance of *bellum ducere* in the *Aeneid*, and it seems also to bear the idea of 'prolong' (OLD24), picking up **adsidue**. This is something of

a surprise, seeing that in vii.46 we are told that Latinus's reign had been long and peaceful.

56. **hos** picks up **hi** (55): Tiberinus draws emphatic attention to the Arcadians.

56. **castris**: a common metonymy* for 'army'. **socios**: predicative 'as allies'. **foedera iunge**: one might expect *foedere* 'join them (to you) by a treaty', but 'to make something by joining' (e.g. *pontem*) is regular (OLD 5 and 8).

57–8. 'I myself will guide you straight upstream between my banks, so that carried upriver by your oars you may overcome the adverse current.' **ipse ego**: he has not introduced himself yet: his name comes as a climax after seven more lines. **recto** adj. used adverbially (see on 30) with the sense 'directly' – the Tiber is anything but 'straight'. Take **remis** with **subvectus** (which is a technical term for travelling against the current) rather than **superes**.

59. **surge age**: 'Up now!' **age** is nearer to an emphatic particle than to a real imperative. **nate dea**: 'Goddess's son' (voc.); **dea** is abl.: 'born from a goddess'. **primis ... astris**: 'when the stars begin to fall', that is at dawn. Stars are rising and setting all the time, not just at dawn, so the expression is not precise, but it is a standard one (A.ii,9, iv.81). *Primus* is sometimes used adverbially with the sense of 'beginning'. In xi.573–4 'When the child Camilla *primis institerat plantis*' must mean not 'stood on her first feet', but 'stood on her feet for the first time'.

60. **Iunoni**: The reader of course knows that Juno is Aeneas's enemy (see Summary, Books i,iv,v,vi,vii). Aeneas himself may have drawn this conclusion from Helenus's instruction (iii.437–40), but he actually knows it only from the Sibyl's utterance at vi.90.

61. **votis**: *votum* (from *voveo* 'I vow') is a promise (to do something in return for the favour of a god). **supplicibus** draws out and emphasizes the humble requests which accompany the *votum*. **victor**: 'as victor', 'only when you triumph' cf.50. **mihi** stands in contrast to **Iunoni**: Juno needs immediate attention, and gets it in 84–5, but it has no effect.

62. **persolves:** ‘pay in full’; the compound seems to indicate Tiber’s confidence in Aeneas. **ego sum...:** ‘I am he whom you see ...’. Even now we have to wait the whole length of the relative clause before we find out who he is.

63. **stringentem:** ‘a sort of intermediate word between *lambentem* (licking) and *radentem* (scraping)’ (Conington).

64. **caeruleus:** the Tiber is introduced as *flavus* ‘yellow’ in vii.31, and is regularly so described (Hor. *Odes* ii.3.18 etc). He is ‘blue’ here (a) as the conventional colour of a river god (Nile in 713) and (b) for the assonance with **caelo**. This is another grand naming-line (cf.48, 54).

65. A straightforward translation of this line is ‘My great house is here; my headwaters emerge from among lofty cities.’ The ‘lofty cities’ are the Etruscan foundations of the upper Tiber valley: Spoleto, Perugia, Gubbio, all still splendid on their hilltops today. *Caput* is confirmed as ‘source’ by *Georgics* iv.368. *Hic* then refers, by contrast, to the lower waters of the Tiber. In *domus* there is perhaps a reference to the area around the first sharp bend in the river met by those sailing upstream: it was called *Tiberina atria* (‘Halls of Tiber’) see Ovid *Fasti* iv.329f. That a river god could have his *domus* so far downstream is confirmed by Ovid *Met.* i.568–76, where the important Greek river Peneus has his *domus* in a subaqueous cave not far from his estuary.

The line has been taken differently by Gransden (partly following Warde Fowler), who translates ‘Here is my mighty house, the well spring [= water-supply] for lofty cities here goes forth.’ *Caput* thus amplifies *domus*, referring to ‘the underground system of reservoirs supposed to be the god’s home.’ *Caput* can indeed refer to a fountain-head (OLD 11a), but this extended interpretation puts a strain on the context of *Georgics* iv (above) and also on the words of Virgil (one would expect some Latin word to correspond to Gransden’s second ‘here’).

Either way, Tiber seems to be establishing himself as the aquatic patron of the whole lower Tiber and therefore undertaking to be one of the guardian gods of Rome.

66. **fluvius**: the river and the god are fused; the reader's imagination is challenged. **lacu**: rivers alternately run fast and shallow or sluggish and deep. *Lacus* 'pool' seems to be the term for the second state (cf. vi.393, xii.756). The word can also refer to a tank or reservoir as part of the water supply (Frontinus *Aqu.* 129, etc., and see on 74 below), which has tempted readers to see a reference to Gransden's 'underground system'.

67. **ima petens** – so that no trace of him was left on the surface. In the following words **reliquit** is used in a slightly different sense following each of the two subjects. (The figure is called *syllipsis**) It creates an abbreviated expression, emphasizing the suddenness of the events.

68. **aetherii ... lumina**: 'the growing light of the sun as it rose into the sky'.

69. **rite**: what follows is going to be a religious act. Either it is ritual washing (Plautus *Aul.* 579 'I'll go and wash in preparation for sacrifice') or it is like ix.1–24, where Turnus has an apparently ritual drink of water after a visitation from the goddess Iris, or it is a rudimentary libation ('offering made in the form of liquid poured out') such as the one Aeneas performed after a vision of the Penates in iii.177. To face the rising sun is evidently also of ritual significance: see xii.172.

71. **genus ... unde est**: 'from whom (*unde* = *a quibus*) rivers have their descent (i.e. their origin)'. *Amnibus* is possessive dative* (NLG190, GL349). Why does Aeneas address the nymphs, who have played no part in events? It seems to be a recollection of *Odyssey* xiii,356–60. Athena here convinces Odysseus that he has indeed come to shore in his home island of Ithaca, and precisely at a cave of the nymphs to whom Odysseus had often prayed. Odysseus's first response there is a prayer to these nymphs. The phrase *genus ... est* is also a little surprising in that it poses the question of how Tiberinus comes into this. (DServius indeed refers – on 330 – to the obscure story that Tiberinus was son of the god Janus and (the nymph?) Camasena.) It looks as if the main purpose of line 71 is to articulate this section of Aeneas's prayer into a tricolon* crescendo, one line to each element.

72. A near-quotation from Ennius: Ilia, mother of Romulus and Remus, prays to Tiber: *teque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto* (frg 53V*).

73. **arcete**: usually 'to keep (perils) from (someone)', here 'to keep (someone) away from (perils)'.

74–5. 'At whatever spring the deep pools keep you as you sorrow for our difficulties ...' Servius is probably right in seeing *lacus* here as referring to the underground reservoir which feeds the spring. *Incommoda* occurs nowhere else in Virgil. It is a prosaic word, 'inconvenience', no doubt intended here as an understatement. (*Tenet* or *tenent*? Mss differ. But Servius's interpretation would encourage *tenet*, because each spring will only have one *lacus*.) **quocumque**, 'whatever ...' is an allusion to a standard form in prayers which invoke the deity's aid in whatever form or under whatever name he/she chooses to act. 'Zeus, whoever he is ...' (Aeschylus, *Agememnon* 160). *pulcherrimus exis*: 'you emerge in beauty'.

76. Understand 'my' with **donis** as well as **honore**. **celebrabere** is the regular poetic short form of *celebraberis* fut. pass.

77. **fluvius** may be thought of as a vocative (on nom. for voc. see NLG 171, GL201 Rem. 2) or as nominative in apposition* 'you will be celebrated as the horned river ...'.

corniger: a traditional representation of a river god was as a bull with a man's head. (See a splendid illustration of the river Achelous as he fights Heracles – ◉Louvre G365; cf. also Horace *Odes* iv.14.25 *tauriformis* of his home river the Aufidus.). **regnator** may be in apposition to **fluvius**, but a more vivid reading is to take it as an adjective, as nouns in *-tor* are occasionally and strikingly used. (The outskirts of Rome in the late evening are given vivid life when Cicero describes them (*Mil.* 50) as *latronum ... receptor locus*; Bandit Receiver Locality.) The line, tied together by the interlocking agreement of nouns and adjectives, makes a resonant title for Tiberinus.

78. **adsis o tantum**: 'only be present'. The abrupt *ades*, imperative, occurs several times in *Ecl.* and *Geo.*, always addressed to humans.

The subjunctive is more substantial and more humble, and rendered even more submissive by the placing of **o** after the verb (G.i.18, A. iv.578). **propius**: ‘(being) nearer’, that is ‘confirm your authority by your presence’. The line is framed by the two subjunctives.

After the first tricolon 71–3 we seem to get another, 74–6, at the end of which the sense is complete, so that its continuation into 77 is unexpected and forceful. The lines stand out as end-stopped* except at 74–5.

79. **geminas**: the word is used as a metrically convenient alternative for *duas* or *binas*. **biremes**: ships with two banks of oars. In the boat race of Book v, at least one and probably all of the four competitors were triremes (v.114–23); biremes here are perhaps more suitable light transport for the river. Both types of ship are of course anachronistic for Homeric times.

80. **remigio** may refer to ‘a (rowing) crew’ or to ‘oars’.

81–9. Tiber’s prediction (that the sow and her litter will be found, 43–5) and his promise (to facilitate Aeneas’s upriver journey, 57–8) are now fulfilled. (For the part this story plays in Roman foundation-myth as a whole, see above: ‘Further note’ on 35–46.)

81. **ecce**: With this word the author points to something remarkable in what his text describes. The jerky division of the line contributes: *ecce autem / subit(um) / atqu(e) oculis mirabile / monstrum*.

82–3.

Through the wood	<i>per silvam</i>
a pure white sow is seen	<i>candida sus conspicitur</i>
with her white brood.	<i>cum fetu albo</i>
(She is) the same colour (as them),	<i>concolor</i>
she has collapsed	<i>procubuit</i>
on the green river bank	<i>viridi in litore</i>

- (i) *candida* begins the couplet and *sus* ends it – a striking hyperbaton*.
- (ii) *per silvam*: although this is understood most easily with *conspicitur*, its closest verb is *procubuit*, with which it could also be taken, thus: ‘came through the wood and collapsed’. (The ellipse* is characteristic Virgil.)
- (iii) *candida ... albo ... concolor*. The ‘white’ idea is insisted on in these three words. *Candida* emphasizes the striking impression created: pure white, conspicuous through the green shadows of the wood. *Alba* reminds us of the association of this portent with the foundation of the city of Alba Longa. *Concolor* adds to the emphasis and contributes to the *c*-alliteration* of the couplet.
- (iv) *conspicitur* is in the present tense of vivid narrative and *procubuit* in the perfect tense (the first since 67) of events which are past and over.
- (v) *procubuit*: the same word has been used of Aeneas when he collapses with exhaustion in 30. It also has an interesting counterpart in the oracle in DH i.55.4, where the Trojans were told to ‘follow a four-footed creature until it became exhausted’. (See above ‘Further note’ on 35–46.) Further emphasis is laid on the word, in that it is in striking *hysteron proteron** with *conspicitur* (though see 85n.).
- (vi) *sus*: 83 ends with this monosyllable. See on line 43. Here the effect may be to draw attention to the fulfilment of prophecies (iii.390 as well as viii.43) and to emphasize gratified surprise at this fulfilment.

A brief object-lesson in the untranslatability of Virgil!

84. **pius Aeneas**: The word is used 16 times in the nom. masc. sing. in the *Aeneid*, 15 of them of Aeneas. His keynote adjective: ‘loyal to all his obligations, human and divine’. Here it sees him as aware of the significance of the occasion and performing appropriate ritual. **tibi**: The poet turns to address not us, his audience, but a character in his poem

(‘apostrophe’*). *Tibi* is repeated for emphasis, since Juno is Aeneas’s implacable enemy from Book i.4 to Book xii.806 (see Summary, Books i, iv, vii, x), and underlined by **enim**, which here is not explanatory but ‘asseverative’ (GL498 nn 2,3), and means ‘yes, to you’. Aeneas here obeys the urgent instructions of Priam’s prophet-son Helenus, now king in Epirus, visited by Aeneas on his journey from Troy (iii.435–440).

85. **mactat**: coming from the same root as *magnus*, this verb originally means ‘magnify, honour’ and becomes by a religious euphemism a standard word (the most frequent one in Virgil) for killing an animal in sacrifice. **sacra ferens**: *sacra ferre* can mean (i) literally ‘to carry sacred objects’ (in Hor. *Sat.*i.3.11 mentioned because it enforces a slow and solemn gait) (ii) ‘to perform sacrifice’ (G.i.338–9, A.iii.19, A.v.59–60) (iii) generally to act as or be a priest – on G.ii.476, where Virgil speaks of the Muses *quarum sacra fero*, Servius comments ‘for the poet is as it were priest of the Muses’. Here (iii) seems the best way of thinking of the phrase. **mactat ... et... sistit**: taken literally, a *hysteron proteron**, but see Fordyce on vii.53 for Virgil’s habit of ‘representing an action under two aspects by the use of two clauses connected by *et* or *-que*’, cf. viii.125.

86–7: **Thybris**: Virgil’s most frequently used word for the river (otherwise *Tiberis*, *Tiberinus*). With its long first syllable it can stand at the head of a line.

ea nocte ... leniit: Either (a) ‘That night, for its full length, Tiber calmed his swelling stream’ or (b) ‘Tiber calmed his stream which had been running high all that night’. With (a) *ea nocte* will refer to the night after the sacrifice; with (b) it will have to refer to the night before. Most editors prefer (a). The Trojans clearly row for a night and a morning to get to Pallanteum (94) and it makes sense if *ea nocte*, *quam longa est* refers to that night. But there is something to be said for (b). *Ea nocte* can very well go with *tumentem* (abl. of ‘time during the whole length of which’, NLG 231.1, GL393 Rem. 2) as in Caesar *Civil War* i.46.1 *cum esset ... pugnatum continenter horis quinque* ‘when the battle had gone on over five hours non-stop’.) The perfect tense of *leniit* is then very

apt for the god's single action, which put an end to the spate, and this is emphasized by the enjambment. It does however leave the Trojans being a little slow (several hours delay) in taking advantage of the god's favour. **quam longa**: a sort of shortened version of *quam longa est, tam diu tumebat* ... 'for as long as as the night (lasted), so long did (a) (the river) flow high' or (b) the god restrain his flow (cf. iv.193).

est: this present tense has always seemed slightly odd (Servius, Conington, Fordyce). 'Historic present' is suggested, although it is not quite like the normal 'historic' present, which is used to bring single events of a narrative vividly before the reader's eyes (three such verbs in 90–2).

Tiber calming his stream recalls Odysseus landing in Phaeacia, *Od.*v.451–3, when the river god, in whose estuary Odysseus came to shore, relaxed his current to facilitate this.

87. **refluens**: the word appears twice elsewhere in the Aeneid: (i) viii.240, where the river *flows backwards* (in terror) and (ii) ix.33, where the Nile flood subsides and the waters *flow back down* into their normal channel. West translates with a strong version of (i): 'reversing his current', and is supported by Eden, who observes that backward-flowing rivers are 'a wonder'. But the point here is the transition from the swollen (*tumentem*) river in spate to the placid still waters, so something more like meaning (ii) seems indicated. **substitit** 'came to a halt' seems to support this.

The subject of **leniit** is of course **Thybris**: the god is seen as *separate from* his stream; the subject is unchanged in **substitit**, so that now the god has become *identified with* his stream.

88–9. **in morem** + gen.: 'like' (for the acc. see OLD 18). **stagnum** and **palus** regularly of standing water, often left-over flood water, but without the slightly noxious implications of 'stagnant' or 'swamp'. **-que** is more like 'or' here than 'and' (see Fordyce on Cat. 45.6). **aequor** = 'a flat surface', hence 'so as to spread a flat surface upon the waters'. (Cf v.821 *sternitur aequor aquis*.) Notice the complicated alliteration* of

these two lines. **remo ut luctamen abesset**: ‘so that the oar should feel no strain’ (this is a purpose clause dependent on **sterneret**, which itself is part of the result clause introduced by *ita ... ut*). **remo** is abl. of separation (NLG 214). **luctamen**: Virgil is fond of abstract nouns in *-men*, and may well have invented some (see Gransden on this line). One can think of *remo* as metonymy* for ‘oarsmen’ or as a personification*.

90. **ergo ... inceptum**: almost the same words as vi.384 where Aeneas and the Sibyl begin their journey to the underworld. (Another reminiscence in 107–8.) Ancient readers confused the two passages, so that MSS and grammarians import from there a reading *peragunt* for *celerant* here.

rumore secundo: *secundus* is an old participle of *sequor* (so: ‘following’, thus ‘favourable’ of the wind in a ship’s sails). Everywhere else in Virgil *rumor* is equivalent to *fama*; hence Servius’s interpretation ‘with the report of their journey following them’ – that is they were able to outstrip even Fama, whose speed of movement was legendary (iv.174). But here Virgil seems to be quoting Ennius *Annales*: *populi rumore secundo* (Ann. 255V) or the (probably) late republican poet Sueius *repetita ferunt rumore secundo* (Macr. Sat.vi.1.37), where the meaning is clearly ‘with accompanying sounds of support’, that is cheers from those on the bank (cf. v.338 *fremitu secundo*, 491 *clamore secundo*).

91–3. **abies**: fir-wood was much sought after in warship-building, so that, if it is a metonymy* for ship, *abies* serves also to point to the quality of the vessel. (Meiggs *Trees and Timber in the Ancient World* 116–53). Perhaps not metonymy (*abies* not so used elsewhere in the *Aeneid*) and we are to think only of the contact of wood and water. **uncta**: Ennius used the phrase *labitur uncta carina* at least twice (386, 478V*), and Virgil takes it up in iv.398 *natat uncta carina* and here. Hulls were smeared with wax or pitch as a preservative, but *ungere* can also make something slippery: in G.ii.384 people are dancing *per unctos utres* ‘on greased wineskins’. **vadis**: ‘over the waters’ abl. of place. *Vada* are originally ‘shallows’, later used of waters in general.

mirantur ... miratur: the anaphora* connects the two sentences of which these are the verbs, and also emphasizes the idea. Take **et** ('even') with both, as **insuetum**, though agreeing only with **nemus**, will apply also to **undae**. 'Even the waters and the woods are full of amazement, unfamiliar (as they are) to the far-off glint of warriors' shields.' 'Warriors': **virum** must carry some positive implication, as in i.1. Shields were no doubt propped on gunwales, as in the charming illustration from the Codex Romanus (*Enciclopedia Vergiliana* vol. 2, p. 256). It may be that the woods are 'unfamiliar' with the sight of weapons because of the 'long peace' which has prevailed in Latium (vii.46).

pictas ... carinas: there is a change of construction here, *mira(n)tur* now taking acc. and infin. '(they) are amazed that...' For ships' paint, sometimes flamboyant, see Casson *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* 211–2. Pliny the Elder, himself an admiral, mentions as normal colours for naval vessels purple, indigo, light blue, grey, gold, green and white (NH.35.49).

94–5. **olli:** archaic* form of *illi*, obsolete from general use for 150 years before Virgil, but used by Ennius and occasionally by Virgil. Quintilian, himself an excellent writer of Latin, thought that this and Virgil's other archaisms* were perfectly judged to give a touch of antique dignity to his style (*Institutio Oratoria* viii.3.24). See Fordyce on vii.458. **noctemque diemque:** doubled *-que* ('both ... and') seems to have been introduced by Ennius on the basis of Homeric τε ... τε; its use in Virgil is a feature of lofty style (See Fraenkel, *Plautine Elements in Plautus* 142–4). **superant:** *supero* seems to be a technical word of navigation for 'passing' a particular point (Liv.xxvi.26.1), but Virgil adds to this the idea of effort rewarded (A.i.244) – especially so here when it is the day which gets tired not the oarsmen.

96. **secant:** Servius thought this word could suggest the ships cutting through the trees reflected in the calm water; an attractive idea. Or the effect of rounding a bend and seeing/'creating' a gap between the trees. **placido aequare:** unusual elision* at fourth-foot end. Cf. iv.420 where a disturbing effect may be intended, vi.622, where this seems unlikely.

The four main verbs of these lines, with their unremarkable connectors *et*, *-que*, *-que*, create the impression of a very ordered and unhurried journey (which argues against Servius's view of *rumore secundo* above). Looked at in a literal way, the Trojans are travelling some 30 km in the greater part of 24 hours, which, given the lack of adverse current (87), should require no special effort. (The Wikipedia article on 'Galley' is well documented.) The charm of their surroundings (woods and long reaches of water) creates a double contrast: (i) with the Tiber in Virgil's own day ('distinctly industrial, beset with warehouses, jetties, and dumps' – Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, in correspondence), and (ii) between this scene and the fearful war towards which it is working. Virgil's readers will also be reminded of another pleasant night-journey: Telemachus's crossing from Ithaca to Pylos in *Odyssey* ii.427–3.5, when he too went on an urgent mission to seek moral support from a friendly king.

97. A carefully constructed line: alliterative* two-word phrase in the centre surrounded by nouns at either end, each accompanied by an adj. in agreement with the other noun.

98. **procul**: the second syllable is short by nature but, coming first in its foot, takes the place of a long syllable. The feature, '*brevis in longo*', occurs 57 times in Virgil and always at a word-ending, that is a caesura*. It creates a deliberately uncomfortable hold-up of the rhythm (Virgil could have avoided it by writing, e.g., *tum* instead of *ac*) for which the only general explanation appears to be conscious archaism* – recalling the style of Ennius (see above on 94 and cf. 679.) But it is legitimate to speculate on why he uses it at any particular point. ('They are straining to see a distant sight' – ?) Cf *Ecl.*i.38, A.v.853, x.383.

cum ... vident: *cum inversum**, cf. 28. It means nearly 'And then ...' The historic present is the more striking for its context of pluperf., perf., imperf.

99. **quae**: grammatically in agreement only with n.pl. **tecta**, but actually referring to all three elements of what can be seen of Pallanteum.

caelo aequavit: a striking enjambment*, emphasizing the hyperbole* in *caelo*, and pointing to the great contrast between the **nunc** of Virgil's day and the **tum** of Evander's.

100. **res inopes:** in apposition to *quae*. 'Which at that time E. owned as his impoverished possessions.' **Euandrus:** see lines 51–5 and notes.

101. A line to wind up the passage 81–100 – 'epiphonema'*. **ocius:** the comparative form used not in a comparison but to suggest 'pretty quickly'; it gives a sense of urgency (cf. 278, 444, 555), contrasting with the Trojans's hitherto leisurely progress and preparing for the alarm suggested by 109–14.

102–25. Their arrival at Pallanteum coincides with the festival commemorating Hercules's victory over the giant Cacus. In Virgil's day the feast of Hercules Victor was celebrated on 12 August (Scullard *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (1981) 171); it is significant that on the following three days in 29 BC Augustus (still plain 'Caesar' at that stage) celebrated his triple triumph, marking the return of peace to the Roman world. The Arcadians are alarmed at the sight of warships approaching, but Evander's son Pallas quickly makes friendly contact with Aeneas.

102. **rex Arcas:** Evander; see 51–4n. **sollemnem ... honorem:** Aeneas's journey upriver recalled Telemachus's journey to Pylos (96n.). Now Aeneas's arrival recalls Telemachus's arrival in Pylos, *Od.* iii.31–44, where he happens upon Nestor sacrificing to Poseidon on the beach.

103. **Amphitryoniadae:** 'the son of Amphitryon', Hercules. Most cases of *Hercules* will not fit into a hexameter; of the various alternative names this is the most grandiloquent, permitting a four-word line. (Strictly, of course, Hercules is Jupiter's son, not Amphitryon's, but, like most heroes with gods as fathers, he has a human father too.) **divisque:** 'and to the gods (in general)'; the addition seems simply to lend solemnity to the rite (iii.19), but it is also interesting that at this festival it was not customary to mention any other god *by name* (Plutarch: *Roman Questions* 90).

104. **ante urbem**: The altar of Hercules (Ara Maxima) known to Virgil was in the Forum Boarium ('Cattle Market') on the banks of the Tiber on the flat ground between the Capitol, the Palatine and the Aventine, just where Aeneas is about to moor. It was not strictly *ante urbem* but inside the most ancient version of the sacred boundary of the city – the *pomerium* (Tacitus *Ann.* xii.24). But (a) nothing suggests that the settled area of Evander's 'city' extended so far down the slopes of the Palatine; (b) we are perhaps being invited to remember the last occasion when Aeneas arrived at a 'new Troy': when he came across Andromache at prayer *ante urbem in luco* in iii.302. **in luco**: A plantation of trees was so characteristic of a pagan shrine that, much later, Christians made a point of chopping them down (R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* 43–4). **huic**: rather than take this with **una** (the normal expression is *una cum*), we should probably understand *erat*, and *huic* as dat. of possession*: 'he had his son Pallas there' (cf. vii.649); it is a barely noticeable looseness that **Pallas** then turns out seeming to be part of the subject of **dabant. una ... una**: the repetition emphasizes that the community was as one in this celebration.

105: **pauperque senatus**: Like the Hercules festival, the senate is another institution which, it is here suggested, antedates the foundation of the city. In Virgil's day you could not be a member of the senatorial order without owning an estate worth at least a million sesterces, so this phrase is paradoxical, but also hints at a moral principle: honest poverty, cf. 364–5.

106: **tura dabant**: the actual sacrifice was the business of priests (and magistrates); offering of incense was an ordinary citizen's way of showing his gratitude to a god (Horace *Odes* iv.2.49–52).

107–9. **vidēre** for *vidērunt* ('syncopated* perfect'). 'When they saw the lofty ships, and that they were slipping nearer through the shadowy wood and that (their crews) were working hard at their oars in silence ...' **rates** starts as the obj. of **videre**, then becomes the (acc.) subj. of **adlabi**, then **tacitos** ('silent men') takes over as subj. of **incumbere**. This is how West takes it; one could also have **tacitos** as the subj. of both

infinitives. There is also a reading *tacitis* (sc. *remis*) which was Servius's, an attractive hypallage* but it oddly makes *rates* the subj. of *incumbere*, that is the ships are working at their own oars. The first version seems to offer the best preparation for the emphatically placed **terrentur**: the ships emerge from the darkness under the trees; they move softly nearer; their oarsmen are working in silence (which Servius explains as 'with no call being given'). It all looks like a surprise attack.

110–14. **Pallas's** intervention presents him vividly as a person. **audax**, the first word used of him, even before his name, is emphasized by the hyperbaton* and by the slight ambiguity: do we take it as adjectival with the name *Pallas*, or as adverbial with **vetat**? The adj. ('ready to dare', 'prepared to do something without worrying about the consequences') refers to a quality which can be attractive, but is also dangerous. Pallas's self-confidence ('I'll deal with this by myself') turns out in Book x. to be the death of him. **vetat, rapto, volat, telo, obuius ipse** all contribute to this impression of energy and initiative. (The only other individual human described in the *Aeneid* by the narrator as *audax* is Turnus. Apart from him, there is Turnus's nymph sister Juturna in xii.786, but there the word is to be heard as Venus's: 'this insolent nymph'.) He addresses Aeneas's men in a corresponding tone: '**iuvenes**' – 'lads' (cf. i.321, ii.348). **ignotas vias**: strictly 'not known to you'; Pallas's implication is 'never seen you here before', and even **subegit** suggests 'what's all the urgency?' The staccato accumulation of questions he puts reflect those put by Telemachus to the disguised Athena (*Od.*i.170–7), with the considerable difference that Athena is only asked them after she has been given a meal. It is a regular rule that you do not question a guest until after a shared meal: this way inherited hostilities which may come to light are suspended under the rules of hospitality. Here it stresses the nervousness of the Arcadians that these rules are broken and the questions come first.

Also in our minds is a very different context, Aeneas's journey to the underworld. (*Ergo iter inceptum* (90n.=6.384), Aeneas's approach in silence through the woods (107–8, cf. vi.386), the sharp address from

a suspicious lookout (112–14, cf. vi.388–9)). Gransden (p. 81) sets out the parallel sequence: prophecy (Sibyl, Tiberinus), ritual portent (golden bough, white sow), ‘enchanted voyage’ (Styx, Tiber), meeting (Anchises, Evander). Is it an oversimplification to see the two journeys contributing to two aspects of Aeneas’s discovery of himself and his mission? – in Book vi he is introduced to Rome as a nation (679–886) and in Book viii to Rome as a place.

110–11. **rumpere ... sacra**: if a ritual procedure were flawed or interrupted it would have to be repeated from the beginning. (The process is called *instauratio*.) Servius refers to an occasion when the *ludi Apollinares* were interrupted by a report that Hannibal was at the gate. The audience went out to face him; it was a false alarm, but there proved no need for *instauratio* when they returned to the Circus and found one old man who had kept the ritual going by continuing to dance throughout. Hence the proverb: *salva res est, saltat senex*: ‘Everything’s all right; the old man’s dancing.’ (Otto *Proverbs* 317–18. Otto considers several different versions of the origin of the proverb.)

111. **ipse**: ‘on his own.’

112. **procul**: as Charon had commanded Aeneas to keep his distance (vi.389). On Claude’s painting of this scene see p. 62.

114. **qui genus**: sc. **estis?** **genus** is acc. of respect* (GL338) ‘Who are you (as regards) race?’ **unde domo**: an idiomatic abbreviation of ‘Where is the home you come from?’ **arma**: a metonymy* for ‘war’, since the literal answer to the question is obvious: shields are visible (93), as are the **tela** which Aeneas is about to acknowledge (117). Servius’s comment is that these quick-fire urgent questions are harassing.

115. **pater Aeneas**: occurs 18 times in the *Aeneid*, often at key moments in the text. (Also 17 times of Anchises; of 7 others once each. Virgil seems to have invented the phrase as a standard honorific – there is nothing similar in Ennius; Homer’s rather different treatment of ‘father Zeus’ may have suggested it.) **puppi ... ab alta**: a line curiously like ii.2: *inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*. Editors suggest that Aeneas

speaks from the stern because the ship has been, in the ancient manner, moored prow outward (vi.3–4) – but this is over-literal. The tension implicit in Pallas's words has not been resolved, the ships have not yet come to shore and the olive branch, symbol of peace, is visible *procul*. The stern is the captain's place: Gransden looks forward to Augustus at Actium (viii.680: 'On one side is Augustus ... standing on his lofty quarterdeck...').

116. **paciferae**: a compound adjective not found in literature before Virgil. Virgil made conspicuous use of compounds derived from earlier writers, especially Ennius, Lucretius, and the second-century dramatist Accius, but seems to have been cautious about inventing his own (Norden on vi.141). For **Troiugenas** see Cat. 64.355, for **Graiugenas** Lucr.i.477. **olivae**: In xi.101 the Latins come to Aeneas seeking a truce; similarly in historical times the Carthaginians, after they were defeated at Zama in 202 BCE, sent 'a ship bedecked with fillets and olive branches' to make their surrender to Scipio (Livy xxx.36.3).

117. 'We are Trojans. The weapons you see are directed against the Latins.' As Servius observes, a useful argument in view of Tiberinus's advice in 55: '(The Arcadians) are at constant war with the Latins.'

118. The indignation of this line comes out in the metre: word-stress and verse-stress clash as often as normal rules allow.

118. **quos** referring to *Troiugenas*, **illi** to the Latins. **egere** = *ēgērunt*, syncopated* perf. as 107. **superbo**: *superbus* occurs seven times in viii, nearly twice as often as in any other book of the Aeneid. Of living creatures it expresses a sense of naturally assumed superiority, which may be attractive or the reverse. Here used by hypallage* of the war, it suggests the thoughtless arrogance with which the Latins have chased away the unfortunate refugee Trojans. Compare 196, 202, 481, 613, 683 and 721.

profugos may refer to the general fugitive state of the Trojans (in i.2 Aeneas is described as *fato profugus*) – West translates 'exiles as we are', or to the efforts of the Latins to push them out ('who have driven us out of their land by a cynical act of aggression' (Day Lewis)). (*Profugos*

would thus be proleptic*.) The latter contributes more to what is anyway a distinctly partial version of the events of Book vii, where the war is described as breaking out more by accident and muddle than by deliberate aggression.

119. **Euandrum petimus**: a simple down-to-earth statement after the allusiveness of 118–19. **ferre**: pl; evidently some of the Arcadians have come to Pallas's support since 111.

120. **Dardaniae**: Dardania is 'the land of Dardanus' – Troy; see 134–42n. **socia arma**: 'an army in alliance'.

121. Pallas's reaction is very strong, given by both **obstipuit** and **percussus**. Most translators avoid this, but Douglas has 'Pallas, astonished of sae heich a name/As 'Dardanus', abasit worth for shame.' ('Heich' = 'high'; 'worth' = 'became'.) There is strong mss support for *percussus* here and in A.i.153 and G.ii.476 but *perculsus* is perhaps more associated with negative feelings (OLD 8). **nomine**: that is that of Dardanus, whose importance has been emphasized by its position in 120 and is stressed again in Aeneas's forthcoming speech.

122. **egredere** (imperative, as is **adloquere** in 123): after a tense start (114) disembarkation and welcome proceed rapidly, to the extent that Aeneas never introduces himself by name. **o quicumque es**: it intensifies the feeling behind **o** to place it after the verb expressing the wish (religious language: iv.578, viii.27).

123. **penatibus**: The Penates are the gods of the household, the *familia*. They protect it and symbolize its existence. To welcome someone to your *penates* is to make them a special guest. They also had a public role: see on 38–9 above. The dat. here with **succede**, dat. of movement or 'local dative*' (NLG193, GL358). **hospes**: 'as a guest', that is Aeneas's answer has fully satisfied Pallas.

124. Again two phrases, to convey the warmth of Pallas's welcome. **dextram amplexus**: he grasps Aeneas's hand in both his own. **inhaesit**: a version of Homer's ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ Il.vi.406, etc.

125. An epiphonema* to the passage 102–24. **luco:** dat. as in 123.

126–51. Aeneas introduces himself in a carefully crafted speech. He begins (a) with a resounding vocative (*optime Graiugenum*). His prologue (b) is an extensive *captatio benevolentiae* (a term of rhetoric which OCD translates ‘fishing for goodwill’) which continues till 145. The idea of supplication is expressed in 126f., and returns in 144–5, making the prologue a unit by means of ring-composition*. Inside this ring the prologue contains two paragraphs: (i) 129–33. Aeneas conveys his confidence in approaching Evander in two lines of negative points (*non extimui*) followed by three lines of positive points. These positive points consist of four noun-phrases *mea virtus*, *sancta oracula divum*, etc. Each of these takes up a half-line with a pause at the third-foot caesura* and serves as a subject to the two verbs of 133. 133 has to be spoken without a pause because the caesura* is blurred by elision*. *Volentem* (133) balances *non extimui* (129) – ring-composition* again. (ii) 134–42: a family tree of four lines going back from Aeneas’s ancestor Dardanus to Atlas, another four lines taking Evander back to Atlas, with Atlas himself mentioned twice in each section, the whole rounded off by its conclusion in 142. The meat of the speech (c) runs from 146 to 149 – see the notes to those lines. Finally (d) there is a neat peroration (150f), consisting of three brief sentences forming a crescendo and skilfully adapted to the lines of verse (anaphora*, diaeresis* after first-foot dactyl) but with the three units over two lines sounding brisk and down-to-earth.

127. **Graiugenum:** a polite, very formal opening, using an archaic* form of the gen. pl. The gen. is partitive* – ‘best of’. It is worth comparing Aeneas’s words here with the last speech he made seeking help from a reigning monarch, namely Dido, in i.595–610.

cui: In Virgil the person to whom prayers are addressed is everywhere else in the acc. Possibly the dat. is justified here by the fact the word does not mean ‘to pray *for* something’, but focuses simply on the idea ‘utter a prayer’ and emphasizes Aeneas’s position as suppliant.

128. **voluit**: ‘decided’ (the single instance is suggested by the perf.); cf. Caesar’s *hoc voluerunt* – ‘It was their decision’ (Suet.*Julius*.30.4) of his opponents at Pharsalus. **vitta comptos ramos**: ‘branches dressed with bands of wool’. This seems a slight extension of the idea of *paciferae olivae* (116) into the ceremonial required for a formal supplication, for which **precari** and **supplex** (145) are appropriate. For such a scene of supplication compare *Il*.i.12–15, where the priest Chryses appeals to Agamemnon for the return of his captured daughter.

129. **extimui**: *extimesco* used here only in Virgil. Its use in, for example, Plaut. *Mil.* 1272 and Cic. *Mil.* 79 suggests a meaning ‘to be thrown into sudden panic’, which here conveys a hint of irony employed by Aeneas at his own expense (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 27). This could make sense in the context if he wishes to give the impression that these truths about Evander (that he is a Greek and therefore likely to be an enemy of Trojans) are in fact not all that terrifying because he is pretty confident of Evander’s favourable response. **Danaum**: gen., following **ductor**. *Danai* is Virgil’s most-used term for ‘Greeks’; he seems to use it especially when they are fighting (32 times in Book ii; *Grai* only three times, *Achivi* four). **fores** = *esses*, from the same tense as the standard *foret* and *forent*. It is subjunctive because of an implied indirect quality* to the clause ‘because of the idea that you were ...’ – an idea which is obliterated or contradicted by the emphatic *coniunxere* of 133. (NLG 323, GL541). Take *fores* separately with each **quod**.

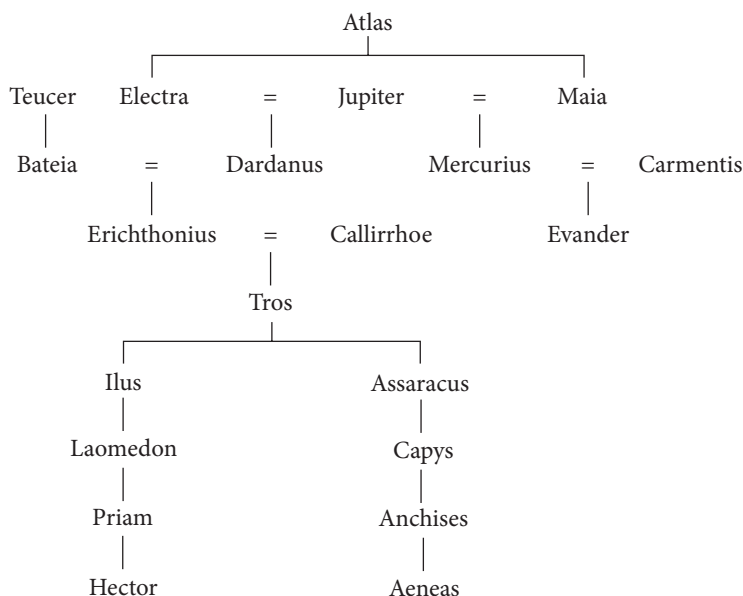
130. **Atridis**: *Atrides*, pl. *Atridae*, is a Greek-type patronymic (a name for a person which indicates the name of his father) in *-des* like *Amphitryoniades* (103): ‘son of Atreus’. These were Agamemnon (commander of the Greeks at Troy) and Menelaus (husband of Helen). In spite of efforts, even Servius strained to find a convincing family relationship between Evander and the Atridae: it was either a marriage relationship through Leda or a blood-relationship stretching back to – Atlas!

131–3. **mea me virtus ...**: in i.378 Aeneas ‘introduced himself’ in proud words to his disguised mother thus ‘*sum pius Aeneas ... fama super aethera notus*’, words of a confidence he did not feel, but recalling Odysseus’s proud claim to the Phaeacians *Od.* ix.19–20. **me** is obj. of **coniungere** (133). The assumed self-confidence is underlined by the figura etymologica* *mea me*. **oracula**: the Sibyl’s prophecy (vi.96–7); Tiberinus’s instructions (viii.51–8). **cognatique patres**: ‘(The fact that our) fathers (were) related’. The four phrases of these two lines have a variety of connections: **et**, **-que** and the contrasting initial words **mea** and **tua**. **tua ... fama** is mere diplomatic politeness: Aeneas had not even heard of Evander until two nights before (see viii.51–6). **terris**: ‘throughout all lands’ cf. NLG228d, GL388.

fatis egere volentem: Aeneas wants to stress the separate complementary motivating factors united in their effect: Destiny and his own will. (Hence their closeness in the text, though strictly, of the four grammatical subjects *virtus*, *oracula*, *patres* and *fama*, only *oracula* makes sense with *fatis*. ‘My quality, the holy oracles, our kindred fathers, your renowned name – all have brought me here, glad at my fate’ is an over-compressed translation.)

134–42. Aeneas’s argument: ‘We are your kith and kin; we have the same enemies; we shall be reliable allies.’ There is something disturbing in the use of Dardanus as focus of a ‘kinship’ argument for friendship between Evander and Aeneas, in that the first person to use Dardanus’s name was Latinus (vii.205–11), evoking fellow-feeling between Trojans and *Latins*. Aeneas is on securer ground with his second point: we have the same enemies. Sallust had recently put in the rebel Catiline’s mouth the observation *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est* (Sall. *Cat.* 20.4): ‘common interest is the guarantee of friendship.’ **Iliacae ... auctor**: Dardanus was a forefather rather than a founder, his own city was Dardania; Troy was built by his great-grandson Ilus (Apollodorus iii.12.1–3). **ut Grai perhibent**: *Grai* (see above on 129) a less loaded word for Greeks. Is this Aeneas bolstering his own case by presenting witnesses who have no cause to be friendly, or Aeneas/Virgil

appealing to the best scientific knowledge, or both? The genealogy to which Aeneas is referring can be set out like this:



135: **cretus** is past part. of *cresco* as if the verb were transitive; translate 'having been grown', 'originating'.

135–41: **Teucros**: acc. governed by the *ad* in **advehitur** (vii.216 *urbem adferimur*). The Greek account of Dardanus (DH i.61–2) was that he was born in Arcadia and travelled via the island of Samothrace to the Troad, currently ruled by Teucer and his people (*Teuceri*). There he married Teucer's daughter Bateia and became the ancestor of the Trojan royal family. A Roman version (Servius on *Aen.* iii.167) was that his father was Corythus, eponymous king of a city identified with Cortona in Etruria; his voyage to the Troad was from there. **Atlas**: in mythology, one of the Titans, the gods who preceded the Olympians, whose chief was Cronos/Saturn. Zeus and the Olympians expelled the Titans in a great battle and imprisoned them in Tartarus, all except for Atlas who was condemned to hold up the sky forever. He appears at several points

in the *Aeneid* and has several different phrases applied to his sky-bearing duty, (iv.247, iv.482 = vi.797, viii.137, 141), all challenging the imagination as befits the hugeness of the task. Here, what are the *orbes*? Hardly each separate stellar or planetary sphere. Aratus, Greek author of an astronomical poem *Phaenomena*, very well known to Virgil (Hardie (1986) 35–7, 56–8) describes the two tropics, the equator, the zodiac and the Milky Way as five ‘circles’ (*Phaen.* 469–558). The passage was translated by Cicero, *Aratea* 481–586, and in it he uses the word *orbes* for Aratus’s circles. Atlas, managing these gigantic rings, becomes a huge figure of mystery and imagination. Rather different is 141: **sidera tollit**: does it suggest that he holds up all the constellations (he is father of one of them: the Pleiades), or is it more like Hesiod’s description in his poem *Theogony* (‘Origin of the Gods’, 517–19): ‘he holds the heavens on his head and with his untiring hands’)? This whole passage places remarkable emphasis upon Atlas: his paternity of Electra is given double mention – in the one word **Atlantide** and in the phrase **Electram ... edidit**; his task is described in two separate ways (137 and 141) and his name is repeated for emphasis (‘epanalepsis’*) in 140 and 141 (as it was in iv.247 and 248). At one level this is Aeneas very anxious to establish the connection; at another it is tempting to refer back to i.740–6, where the bard Iopas sings a song taught to him by *Atlas*, whose content seems remarkably like Aratus’s work. Virgil seems to be speaking here of his own poetic as well as Aeneas’s ethnic ancestry.

138. **vobis**: Evander and Pallas, or Evander’s people as a group; **pater** in the sense of ‘forefather’. **candida**: because she is beautiful, also because she is ‘shining’, as a star, one of the Pleiades.

139. **Cyllene** is an impressive mountain in the northern Peloponnese. For Mercury’s birth there see the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 1–12. **gelido vertice** seems to go with both **conceptum** and **fudit**. The only parallel to **fudit** used of human birth is Cic. *Pis.* fr. 14: *te tua ... mater pecudem ex alvo, non hominem effuderit* (‘your mother dropped you from her belly like an item of livestock, not a human being’); the tone is there contemptuous. Servius is concerned by this, though his explanation

seems strained: the implication, he says, is of ‘quick birth’, referring us to his comment (iv.239) that Mercury is characterized by speed.

140–1. **at** introduces the conclusive line (OLD3 ‘but lo and behold’); then **generat** can be thought of as historic present, in narrative contrast with perf. *fudit*. **quicquam**: adverbial ‘in any way’. **Atlas ... Atlas**: see above.

142: **scindit se**: an abbreviated expression for ‘starts and then divides’.

143–4. **his ... pepigi**: A somewhat tangled sentence, reflecting Aeneas’s agitation. *Pango* is a formal word and goes naturally with nouns like *foedus* and means ‘establish, set up (a treaty)’. But all Aeneas has ‘set up’ is the chance to make ‘a trial’ of Evander. If **temptamenta** (here only in Virgil) sounds forced as an object of **pepigi**, **legatos** sounds more so. ‘Putting my trust in this I did not send envoys or arrange my first approaches to you by diplomacy’ (Williams), understanding out of **pepigi** another verb (‘send’) to govern **legatos**. By **per artem** is suggested the contrast between the (rhetorical and unreliable) skills of diplomacy and the straightforward person-to-person approach Aeneas has adopted (and perhaps the negotiations through Venulus referred to in 10–17).

tui is gen. of the pronoun *tu*, rarely used because ‘of you’ (possessive*) is usually done with the adjective *tuus*. Here the gen. is not possessive but ‘objective’*, as in the phrase *amor patriae* ‘love of one’s country’, here ‘trials of you’ (GL363, NLG 200).

144. **meum caput** ‘my own person’ (*caput* OLD 3,4 or 7) is barely distinguishable from (repeated) ‘me’, thus further intensifying the urgent emphasis. **obiec**i: ‘I have put my person in the way.’

Gransden points to the contrast between this meeting and that in vii.192–285, when Aeneas sent a formal delegation to introduce the Trojans to King Latinus and his people. That is a huge affair, a delegation of 100, gifts, notice given, the meeting conducted in the most elaborate solemnity, with Aeneas himself not involved. Now we have Aeneas (on

his own? the ships' crews do not seem to take any formal part), no gifts, a surprise visit, and Aeneas referring to himself as *supplex*, reminding us of the Sibyl's prophecy *supplex in rebus egenis* 'a suppliant in time of necessity' (vi.91).

146–7. Take **insequitur** as verb both of the main sentence and of the relative clause: 'The same nation is harassing us which (is harassing) you, (that is) the Daunian nation, in a brutal war.' In the standard geography of ancient Italy Daunia refers to an area of Apulia, in the heel of Italy, of which a Daunus was mythical king (Hor. *Odes* iii.30.11). Here 'Daunian' derives from a different Daunus, Turnus's father, king of the Rutuli, whose home is at Ardea, some 30 km down the coast from the Tiber estuary.

147–8. **nihil afore ... quin mittant:** 'They think there will be nothing missing (*afore* fut. infin. of *absum*) so that they do not bring ...' that is 'They think there will be nothing to stop them bringing ...' *mittere sub iugum* refers to the process of unconditional surrender in the military terms of later Roman history. The most catastrophic instance of this occurred in 321 BCE, when an entire Roman army was trapped by the Samnites (Livy ix.2–6) in the defile called the Caudine Forks and forced to surrender.

149 is almost identical to *Georgic* ii.158. Translate *quin mittant et teneant mare quod supra adluit quodque infra adluit*. The Adriatic 'washes (the coast) above' and the Tyrrhenian sea that below: the standard terms are *mare superum* (OLD 1c) and *mare inferum* (OLD 1b).

Aeneas's appeal in 146–9 is of very doubtful justification. Evander's own quarrel is with the Latins (55). Turnus and the Daunians have only been brought in to the matter because of the offence taken by Turnus, and caused by Aeneas, over Lavinia. To exaggerate the threat presented by your own opponent in order to bring another party into the conflict is a traditional diplomatic trick. (Thuc. vi.6: the Segestans use just such an argument to draw the Athenians into war with Syracuse – though in this case the Athenians themselves are looking for an excuse to attack.)

To describe the newly arrived Trojan contingent as the only protection against an all-Italy Latin/Rutulian empire is hyperbole*.

150–1. **accipe daque fidem**: the same words are found in Ennius (*Ann.*32V), who goes on *foedusque feri bene firmum*. **nobis**: possessive* dat. **bello**: either dat. of object for which* ‘brave for war’ or abl. of place* ‘in war’. **rebus spectata**: ‘proved by experience’ as Conington suggests, *res* covering all that had happened to the Trojans.

152–74: Evander’s response. He remembers an event of long ago when Aeneas’s own father Anchises accompanied Priam on a visit to Evander’s native Arcadia; Evander had been captivated by Anchises and a guest-friendship established between their families by gifts. He now invites Aeneas and his company to join the feast.

151–2. **dixerat**: the pluperf. gives the firm sense ‘he had finished’. **ille**: that is Evander. **os ... oculos**: word-play here with the first *os* being neut. sing. and the second *-os* masc. plur. **lustrabat**: *lustrum* originally ‘to go round as a ritual’, hence, ‘to purify’ and ‘to gaze at’. Often in Virgil for ‘survey with intensity’ (i.453, viii.231). **lumine**: an unusual use of the collective singular for ‘eyes’ (other collective singulars: 599 *abiete*, 705 *Aegyptus*).

There seems in Evander’s words to be a memory of Dido’s welcoming speech to Aeneas in i.615–630, in which she agrees to his request for assistance and remembers a long-past meeting with Hesione’s son Teucer.

154–156. **pauca**: Evander’s speech is not specially short, but Romans prided themselves on being laconic, and the word is regularly used in approval (sometimes grudging) of speeches: A.iv.116, vi.672, xi.315. **libens** should be taken with both **ut ... accipio!** (how gladly I welcome you!) and **ut ... recorder!** **Teucrium**: gen. pl. **agnosco**: Evander is reminded of Anchises by Aeneas’s looks as Helen and Menelaus are reminded of Odysseus by Telemachus’s looks in *Od.*iv.138–54; see 102n. above. Notice how Virgil alliterates and separates the words **verba, vocem, vultum** so as to emphasize them. (Evander is evidently

reminded of Anchises both by the sound of Aeneas's voice – *vocem* – and his manner of expression – *verba*.)

157–9. The two participles **visentem** and **petentem** make for an awkward sentence where it is not clear what the sequence of destinations in Priam's travels was: Arcadia first or second? Is the awkwardness in Evander's memory? **protinus**: 'straight on.' **invisere**: one might expect a perf. infin., but after *memini* Virgil much prefers the vividness of the present. (Fordyce on vii.206) **Hesione**, Priam's sister, was given as a reward to Ajax's father Telamon, king of Salamis, by Hercules when he captured Troy and killed her father Laomedon. Much is made of her low status by Agamemnon in Sophocles's *Ajax* (1226–34). This version is ignored by Virgil: the implication is that Hesione is a respectable married lady – one which DService takes up: *Telamoni suo comiti in matrimonium datam* ('(She was) given (by Hercules) to Telamon his companion for him to marry her'). **Salamina**: (Greek) acc. of *Salamis*, the island off Athens's coastline, an independent city-state until the sixth century BCE.

158. **Laomedontiaden**: another patronymic ('son of Laomedon' = Priam) cf. 130, Greek acc. The four-word line with its sonorous names makes this state visit by the Trojan king a solemn and memorable event.

159. **gelidos**: Arcadia is a high plateau in the Peloponnese (southern Greece) with higher peaks and therefore conventionally chilly.

160. **mihi**: the dat. is of reference* (GL350); 'early youth covered my cheeks with bloom.' **vestibat**: an archaic* version of the standard but unscannable *vestiebat*. In *Il.xxiv.348* and *Od.x.279* Hermes presents himself as 'a young man with his first beard growing – the most attractive age.' Anchises and the young Evander were drawn to each other then as their respective sons are now, and the good memory of his own association with Anchises can contribute to the confidence with which Evander fatally entrusts his son to Aeneas.

161. The anaphora* of **mirabar** connects the clauses and emphasizes the 'admiration', so **et ipsum** must go together as yet more emphatic: 'Yes, I also admired (Priam) himself'.

162. **cunctis altior ibat**: ‘stepped out taller than all’. The way one walked (*incessus*) was an indicator of character (i.405; Cic. *Cael.* 49; Ov. *AA.* iii.299); *ibat* is less ponderous than *incedebat* would have been.

163. **amore**: the noun introduces the infinitive as in vii.591–2 *potestas exsuperare consilium* and the passage very similar to this at iii.298. The noun in all three instances is related to a verb upon which an infinitive could naturally depend.

164. **virum**: again a term of positive respect (cf. 93). **ardebat amore**: an expression of strong feeling (‘hero-worship’) intensified by the alliteration.

165. **Phēnēi**. Why Pheneus? It is a long way from Evander’s Arcadian Pallanteion. DServius on iii.167 reports the view of ‘The Greeks and Varro’: that Pheneus was the birthplace of Dardanus (see on 135–41). Also, it is just under Cyllene, and Pausanias (viii.14.1–15.1) states that the principal temple there is to Hermes/Mercury, Evander’s father.

166. Homeric heroes regularly give or exchange gifts to cement guest-friendship: for a one-way presentation from an older to a younger man cf *Od.* iv.611–19, Menelaus to Telemachus. **Lycias**: conventionally good quality, cf. vii.816, xi.773.

167. **intertextam**: a *spondeiazon** (see on 54). The effect here? Perhaps the complex laborious nature of the garment. Perhaps combining with the Greek words *pharetra*, *chlamys* to create a self-consciously Homeric scene. (The mss support *intertexto* – abl. abs. with *auro* – as strongly as *-am*. Servius preferred *-am*, probably rightly, since it provides each of the gifts with its own epithet in agreement and a longer one – ‘tricolon* crescendo’ – for the last.)

168. **aurea**: with **frena**, but displaced to the relative clause, emphasizing the idea and avoiding two adjectives together with the noun. This type of displacement (cf.x.385) is called ‘hyperbaton*’, though this term is often also used for the wide separation of an epithet from its noun. **bina**: strictly a ‘distributive’ numeral – ‘two each’, but used instead of

duo with nouns which have a plural but not a singular, as is almost entirely true of *frena* (see OLD). **meus**: perhaps a touch of pride and affection, the word being stressed by its wide separation (hyperbaton* (ii)) from *Pallas*.

169. The following translation omits *mihi*. 'And so the right hand of friendship which you are seeking has been joined in a solemn undertaking.' **iuncta est**: either (a) 'has (now, hereby) been joined' to Aeneas' by Evander, that is it is a response to Aeneas's appeal *accipe daque fidem* (150), making *mihi* dative of agent* 'by me', or (b) 'was (long ago) joined' between each other by Anchises and Evander. In this case *mihi* is dat. of reference* 'as far as I am concerned'. Commentators are divided between these two versions, both of which are appropriate to the situation. **foedere**: 'in a treaty' (cf. *hospitio* in iii.83). The accord between Aeneas and Evander is based on the traditional principles of *hospitium* (the commitment between a guest and a host) and *amicitia* (friendship). *Foedus* implies the expression of these good relations in legal form. Evander's words imply that the friendship is strong enough to constitute a treaty in itself, and his commitment to supply Aeneas with forces confirms this.

170: **crastina** grammatically with **lux**, but having the sense of adv. *cras* with *se reddet*.

171. **laetos**: sc. *vos*. In i.571 Dido's promise was *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*. See Summary, p. 19. **auxilio**: military forces; **opibus**: supplies. In fact the material support supplied by Evander is slight (518–19) – which underlines the tragic implications of what he does provide, namely his doomed son Pallas. More important will be the contact he sets up by which Aeneas acquires the Etruscans as allies.

172–4. The main clause is **haec annua sacra celebrate. quando** = 'since' here, not 'when'. **amici**: 'as friends'. Evander's invitation is most carefully constructed. He points to the ceremonial feast laid out (**sacra haec**), notes that the celebrations are a part of the formal calendar (**annua**) and so cannot be set aside (**differre nefas**), makes his invitation to the

Trojans (**celebrate**), includes them in the spirit (**faventes nobiscum** – ‘wholeheartedly as we do’), suggests that it will be the first of many occasions (**adsuescite**). He frames the sentence between **amici**, in which capacity the Trojans claim to have come, and **sociorum**, in which capacity he even now regards them. A generous offer – and a challenge. **nefas sc. est. celebrate faventes**: another phrase of Dido’s (i.735). **mensis** may be dat. ‘(grow accustomed) to’ or abl. ‘(become familiar) with’ (OLD 2b,c)

175–83: The feast is resumed. Aeneas is given the place of honour.

175. **haec ubi dicta**: understand *dedit* (the expression used eight times in *Aen.*) or *sunt*. **sublata**: ‘removed’ should be understood with **dapes** as well as with **pocula**. In spite of Pallas’s appeal (110–11) some interruption has taken place (cf 110–11 and the note there).

176. **sedili** (abl. of place without prep.): ‘At festivals of Hercules it is correct practice to sit while eating’ (Macrobius iii.16) – as opposed to lying on couches, which was otherwise normal practice. So also **solio** (178). (Though there is some inconsistency: at Dido’s feast the guests recline (i.700,708) while at Latinus’s temple-palace it was the custom to sit (vii.176).) The *gramineum sedile* is presumably a bench made of turf. **ipse**: that is being the attentive host, not leaving it to his assistants.

177. **praecipuum**: ‘as his most important (guest)’ – as his place in the line shows – OLD3b. **toro**: a *torus* (OLD4a) is a cushion or other soft covering for a hard chair or couch: so here we have ‘welcomes him with a cushion and a lionskin’ meaning either ‘lionskin spread over cushion’ or, ‘by a lionskin covering (on the chair)’ – that is hendiadys*, the *torus* is the lionskin. In art, the lionskin is an almost universal attribute of Hercules – representing the creature he killed at Nemea and the hero’s own nature. It is appropriate here for the festival of Hercules and for Aeneas, who has Herculean virtues himself which will be reflected in those of Augustus, cf. vi, 801–3. For other leonine associations: ii.722, viii.552 and x.157.

178. **invitat**: rather ‘entertain’ here (OLD1) than ‘invite’, so **solio** is abl. of place.

180. **viscera**: ‘everything under the hide’ (Servius on i.211). **onerant**: ‘they load (bread) into baskets’; for the other construction x.868: *manus iaculis oneravit*: ‘he loaded his hands with spears’.

181. **Cereris, Bacchum**: metonymy* for bread and wine. *Panis*, the ordinary word for bread, does not occur in the *Aeneid* at all: evidently a more colourful word was needed in elevated poetry. **laboratae** ‘well-worked’ applied to Ceres as if there were no personification*.

183. **perpetui** is ‘transferred’ to **bovis**; it would naturally qualify **tergo**. ‘The full-length chine’ (= meat off the backbone) is a reference to Homeric meals: in *Od.* xiv.437 it is a special cut reserved for Odysseus. **lustralibus**: *lustralis* is the adj. from *lustrum*, one of whose meanings is ‘a period of five years’. Servius, approved by Eden, noted that a five-year-old ox makes a special meal in Homer (*Il.* ii.402); thus the word becomes a term of approval for the menu. If this seems strained, Fordyce suggests ‘sacrificial, in a general sense’. **extis**: abl., the normal case following *vescor* (OLD2a).

184–279. Evander tells how some of Hercules’s cattle were stolen by the giant Cacus and how Hercules killed Cacus in revenge. (On the Ara Maxima and Hercules in general, see Intro pp. 33–6.) The story serves at least three purposes: (i) Evander’s explanation to the Trojans of what is happening, (188,190), (ii) a sermon by Evander addressed to his own people as well as the Trojans, encouraging their devotion to Hercules (273) and (iii) Virgil’s narrative directed to his readers, offering a dramatic tale and an aetiological* account of the Ara Maxima celebrations (269–72). At one point at least (see 268 note) the simultaneous presence of elements (ii) and (iii) causes slight confusion.

184. This is a version of a Homeric line, a formula for the end of a meal: ‘And when they had set aside their passion for eating and drinking’ (*Il.* i.369, etc.).

185–9. Take the sentence **non vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum imposuit haec sollemnia ...** ‘(It was) not an empty superstition nor one (which is) unaware of the old gods (which) imposed these rites...’ **ex more dapēs**: a feast celebrated in the traditional way, that is, properly, decently. **tanti numinis**: either (i) possessive* gen. (NLG198, GL362)): ‘altar belonging to so great a god’, that is Hercules (OLD6), or (ii) gen. of quality* (NLG203, GL365)): ‘an altar with such divinity about it’ (OLD4). Note the anaphora* **haec, has, hanc**: Evander is vividly represented gesturing towards the various features.

veterumque ignara deorum: Evander acknowledges the novelty of the rite, but claims that it is consistent with tradition. See 282n.

imposuit: **non** in 185 probably covers this word too: ‘it was not a matter of having things imposed on us: we were glad to ...’; and **saevis periclis**, emphasized by separation, gives the reason. The point is then emphasized by the enjambment* *periclis/servati* and the position of **meritos** at the beginning of its phrase. **facimus**: best to take this as OLD24b does: ‘perform sacrifice’, cf. *Ecl.*3.77. The two points are then separate: ‘we sacrifice because we have been rescued, and the honours we repeat (or “institute” – see following note) are well-earned.’ (Conington; Fordyce and Gransden prefer ‘we perform and repeat honours’). **novamus**: (i) we repeat from year to year (OLD7) (ii) we institute as new (OLD1). Usage seems to favour (i) – cf. the references in OLD. In fact the ceremony has been going on for some years already (173, 185), hence Fordyce and Gransden, with Servius, ‘we repeat’. But there is an element of self-justification in what Evander says, and what he is justifying (to Aeneas, and to Aeneas’s Roman descendants) is the institution of a novel cult. This comes out much more clearly with (ii). ‘We are in the process of instituting a cult’ which cannot be secure until performed over many years – hence the present tense.

190–2. **iam primum**: an introductory phrase to Evander’s story. He is pointing to the Aventine Hill (plan, p. 161). (The spondaic line 190 makes for a slow, portentous introduction.) Evander’s description is difficult to

disentangle in its individual elements, though the gist is clear. Here is a suggestion. **suspensam** ‘vaulted’ is an architect’s term (OLD4c). ‘See that cliff (like) a vault (built out) of rocks [**saxis** abl. of the material out of which something is made: vii.639], how [*ut* of exclamation: 154,155] the masses have been hurled far apart (from each other) [understand *sunt* with *disiectae*], and the mountain-house stands abandoned and the shattered [understand *disiecti* with *scopuli* as well as *moles*] crags have brought down immense destruction.’ **traxēre** syncopated* perf., as at 107 etc.

193. **vasto summota recessu**: ‘stretching away with an immense backward distance’ (**recessu** abl. of quality* or description, (NLG224, GL400). That is, it stretched far back, deep into the hill. In itself *recessu* adds nothing to *summota*, but admits an additional idea in the adj. **vasto**, which conveys the sense ‘huge, desolate and frightening’.

194. ‘Which the hideous-looking half-human Cacus occupied’ (n.b. long *ā*: **Cācus**) would present all Virgil’s ideas, but would not do justice to the horror added by making his ‘hideous appearance’ the subject. (All modern texts and editors read *tenebat*, though the most authoritative mss read *tegebat*, which could give the idea ‘Cacus’s hideous face was a sufficient guardian.’) (‘Appearance’ is the root meaning of *facies* (OLD1). ‘face’ is derivative (OLD9).) **semihominis**: scan $\bar{~} \sim \sim \bar{~}$. -*miho*- is run together as a single short syllable ‘-myo-’ (synizesis*).

195. **solis inaccessam radiis**: ‘unreached by the sun’s rays’; *radiis* probably dat. ‘unapproachable for ...’, but very close to a dative of agent*.

196. **foribus ... superbis**: the faces of Cacus’s victims on his ‘proud doors’ make a remarkable contrast to Augustus fixing the spoils of conquest on the ‘proud doors’ of the temple of Apollo (721). See 118n.

197. **pallida**: either closely with **tabo**: ‘discoloured with horrid decay’, or **tristi tabo** is abl. of description* (NLG224, GL400), ‘pale faces in a state of horrid decay’.

198. **huic monstro**: possessive* dat. On Cacus's origins see Intro. p. 34. Vulcan will play a very different and beneficent role when he makes Aeneas's armour in 370–453. **illius**: that is Vulcan's.

198–9. **atros ... ignes**: Dido used the phrase at iv.384 'I shall pursue you with black fire', a vivid and sinister expression; here more concretely intelligible of smoke and flame, but still a forceful oxymoron*. Milton was perhaps thinking of the phrase in *Paradise Lost* i.62–3 'From those flames (of Hell) No light, but rather darkness visible.' **magna ... ferebat**: cf. iii.656: the Cyclops *vasta se mole moventem*. 'Se ferre is used to imply an impressive carriage (i.503, iv.11)' (Fordyce).

Hercules now comes to the rescue. His Tenth Labour was to steal the cattle of Geryon, the three-bodied (*tergeminus* 202) giant who lived in the farthest west. Having killed Geryon he had to get the cattle back to Argos, and came via the future site of Rome.

200–4: a very carefully constructed passage.

201–2: 'Even to us longing for it time in the end brought a god to appear and save us.' **et nobis**: 'even to us'. It is a little odd that there is no connecting word (*iam primum* 190, *hic* 193 **huic** 198, **illius** 198, *at* 205, *atque* 209): perhaps Evander the storyteller pauses after 199 and what follows is intended as a surprise. The open-mouthed *a*-alliteration* in 201–2 could well convey this. **aliquando**: 'at long last'. **optantibus** here does not suggest prayer (to which one hopes for an answer) but simple delight when a good thing happens – the Arcadians had not seen *any* way out of their predicament. **aetas**: 'time' not 'age'. **auxilium adventumque dei**: 'help in the form of the appearance of a god!' – hendiadys* rather than hysteron proteron*. *Adventus*, of a god, is not mere arrival as of a train at a station, but a miraculous epiphany – Lucr. i.7; Ov.*Fast.* i.240.

201–4. Now follows a tricolon* of unusual shape:

- (i) an epigrammatic expression *maximus ultor* – 'the mighty avenger';

- (ii) a whole-line adjectival phrase building up to **superbus**; inside it **nece** and **spoliis** both go with *superbus*: 'glorious from the slaughter and with the spoils of threefold Geryon'; the 'spoils' are the cattle;
- (iii) a two-word triumphant alliterative conclusion answering the riddle 'who is the *maximus ultor*'?

Alcides: another patronymic (130), 'the descendant of Alcaeus.' Alcaeus was Amphytrion's father (see on 103). The remainder of the sentence turns Hercules's arrival with the cattle into a conquering commander's victory procession. **victor** makes the point. **tauros ... ingentes**: the huge size of the cattle comes out in the hyperbaton* and the enjambment*, and their number is suggested in the last phrase: they filled the valley and the riverside, that is the Forum Boarium and perhaps the whole valley between the Aventine and the Palatine.

205. **furis**: ('robber Cacus's thoughts, driven wild...') is the reading of OCT. The preponderance of MS authority is for *furiis*, ('Cacus's thoughts, driven wild by frenzy'...) but Servius acknowledges only *furis*, and Propertius in his Virgil-influenced version of the story (iv.9.13–14) uses the word twice. *Fur* appears nowhere else in the Aeneid; it is more likely that *furis* should shift to *furiis* under the influence of close-by *effera* than that *furiis* should become *furis*. *Fur* is at home in comedy and satire (38 times in Plautus, ten times in Horace Satires). Virgil may be presenting Cacus as having a full range of disagreeable qualities: low and contemptible (as he appears in e.g. Livy) as well as huge and terrifying. **Caci mens effera** is a periphrasis* for *Cacus*, as *semihominis Caci facies* 194. **ne ... fuisset**: 'in case anything should turn out to have been...' A normal purpose clause would give *ne quicquam ... esset*. *Fuisset* seems to see Cacus now as the master of methodical villainy, imagining himself checking off his wickednesses after the event. **inausum, intractatum**: not only does he dare to do things, he actually does them. **sceleris** and **doli** depend on **quid**: 'anything of wickedness or trickery', partitive* gen. (NLG 201.2)

207–8. **stabulis**: ‘static pasture’ rather than stables; in x.723 it is used of the grazing place of a flock of goats high in the mountains. **praestanti corpore, forma superante**, abl. of description* (NLG224, GL400); two phrases of identical meaning, varied by choice of vocabulary and chiastic order.

209. **pedibus rectis** is abl. of description* with **qua** (n.pl.nom): ‘in case there should be any *vestigia* with forward-facing feet’.

210–11. **caudā** (the *a* elided*) abl. ‘by the tail’. **viarum indicii**: ‘signs of the ways (the cattle had walked)’. Of course it is not a matter of the route they had taken (this was obvious) but the direction they had been facing. **raptor**: all mss read *raptos*, which adds nothing to the sense and forms an awkward rhyme with *tractos*. *raptor* is the reading suggested by Gilbert Wakefield (a late eighteenth-century scholar of colourful and impetuous character) with reference to Propertius iv.9.9 *incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro* (‘The occupier was Cacus, the bandit from the Cave of Terror’). **saxo**: most straightforwardly understood as instrumental* abl. **occultabat**: imperf. ‘sought to conceal them’.

212. **quaerenti**: ‘to (anyone) searching (for them) ...’ (dat. of reference*, NLG 188.2c), that is ‘in the eyes of ...’ Evander has worked very hard to make this straightforward story intelligible to his guests. **ferebant**: intransitive, see Voc. *fero* (ii). The line has an unusual rhythm. Usually where there is no strong caesura* in the third foot there is one in both second and fourth: cf. 202, 220.

213–14. **interea**: ‘and now’ – a transition formula to a new scene (Austin on vi.703). **iam**: with **saturata. abiturque pararet**: the idea is identical to **moveret armenta**. This sort of repetition is a feature of Virgil’s style – ‘theme and variation’ – but see below on *discessu*. The *a*-alliteration* in line 214 seems a decorative flourish.

215–16. Nor does there seem to be any distinction at all between *abitus* and *discessus*. (**discessu**: the abl. gives ‘at the time* of ...’ cf. 583, but can also be thought of as causal*) This, along with the observations on 207–8 and 212, suggests that Virgil is recreating in Evander the aged Homeric

hero Nestor: fussy and repetitive as a speaker, but fundamentally a good person. (see also 560n.) **mugire** (also **impleri** and **relinqui** 216) is a historic infinitive* (NLG335, GL647), whose nearest indic. equivalent is the imperf. – here ‘began to low’, with the other two ‘were being filled/abandoned’. Virgil makes Hercules’s departure a very noisy affair: three separate clauses (tricolon*) with three different sound-words, the second involving an enjambment* with an emphatic separation of *omne nemus*. On the one hand this is another instance of theme and variation; on the other it is a crescendo. The sounds get louder in the words referring to them: the dark *ū* of *mūgire* being succeeded by the brighter *ē* of *querēlis* and then by the full-throated *ā* of *clāmōre* (abl. of attendant circumstances* NLG 221, GL399), which has in addition the *cl* consonant-pair which we associate with such words as *clarus* and *clangor*. The space filled by the sound also grows, from the herd itself to the wood to the tops of the hills.

217–19. There is now a charming contrast between the clamour of the departing herd and the single voice raised in response. Perhaps the resonance of the *vastum antrum* was what made it audible – the enjambment and the frequent *u-* (*v-*) sounds may encourage this idea. **sub antro**: *sub* = ‘down in’. **custodita**: ‘imprisoned as she was’.

219–21. The basic sentence is **Alcidae exarserat dolor**. Lit: ‘Resentment had blazed up in Hercules’ (*Alcidae* is dat. of reference*, as in *caput mihi dolet* – ‘my head aches’). How to fit in the two abl. expressions **furiis**, **atro felle**? (i) take both with **exarserat**: ‘because of his frenzy his resentment blazed with black bile’ (Fordyce). (ii) take **atro felle** as abl. of description* with **dolor**: ‘his black-biled resentment blazed with frenzy’ (Gransden). Both seem strained, (i) because *felle exarserat* is an odd mixed metaphor* (*fel* not being an inflammable substance); (ii) because *atro felle dolor* does not sound so natural a phrase as, for example, *praestanti corpore tauros* (207). (ii) will work if we take Servius’s note that *fel* is ‘that by which we grow angry, according to the *physici*.’ But it is perhaps a mistake to try to pin these phrases down. The essence of the passage is Hercules’s uncontrolled emotion, and part of the

uncontrolledness extends to the language. **exarserat**: a striking pluperf. '(It) shoots the narrative forward, as this part of it is gone by before we reach it' (Williams).

220–1. Either **arma** and **robur** are a hendiadys* for 'the oaken club which was his weapon', or **arma** refers to Hercules's other traditional weapon, his bow and arrows. In the event he uses neither. **nodis**: 'knots' in the wood, as four times in Virgil (*E.v.90*, *A.vii.507*, *ix.743* and *xi.553*), but knots do not make wood heavy, so perhaps '(metal) studs' as in later epic (Valerius Flaccus.vi.378 and Silius.ii.401).

220. **manu** is not necessary but focuses our attention vividly.

221. **aërii ... montis**: rather a baroque reference to the Aventine, judging from the way it looked in Virgil's day (i.e. approx. 150ft high, as today). Does the legend suggest that it was originally much higher, reaching its present elevation only when Hercules smashed in the cave? **ardua**: neut. pl. of adj. used as noun 'the high (parts) of the hill; the gen. is partitive*. (Virgil is fond of this type of expression, cf. v.695 *ardua terrarum* for 'the hills' as opposed to 'the plain').

223–4. **oculis**; (i) Take with **turbatum** 'troubled in his eyes' (abl. of place*) – the idea will be 'eyes staring with terror'. This will contrast with the usual effect of his eyes, which were 'terrifying' (266). (ii) Take with **videre** (syncopated* perf.): 'our folk saw him with their own eyes' (surprise as in Cat. 64.17: mortals see sea nymphs *oculis*). 'Others' says Servius 'read *oculi*.' 'Our very own eyes saw him troubled.' This would make very good sense, with the idea emphasized by the long hyperbaton* *oculi ... nostri* and by the fact that Evander's own reaction is included: it is the reading of Gransden and Williams. But the MSS are firm for *oculis* and this reading is not so hard to understand that it can safely be rejected.

ilicet: a word (originally = *ire licet* 'it is permitted to go') resuscitated from obsolescence by Virgil to mean what another equally obsolescent word, *ilico*, 'on the spot', 'immediately' (which is intractable in hexameters) had meant (Fordyce on vii.583).

Contrast the heavy spondees of 223 (nb **Cācum**) with 224 and 225: identical scansion, frequent dactyls, and *p*, *t*, and *d* sounds to add wings to Cacus's flight.

225–7. Vulcan had evidently provided Cacus with a rudimentary portcullis, a defensive structure known to Greeks and Romans as *catarracta* (Liv.xxvii.28.10). The gate could be raised and lowered on its chains, but Cacus is in too much of a hurry, so he simply breaks the chains. **sese** = **se**. **immane**: a favourite word of Virgil (50 times in the *Aeneid*) 'monstrous', emphasized by separation from next-line **saxum** (hyperbaton*). **deiecit**: forceful at line-beginning and perhaps contributing to the sense of Cacus's haste: he 'drops' before we hear what he is dropping. **ferro ... et arte paterna**: hendiadys*: 'by his father's skill in iron-working'. **fultos**: 'He (a) strengthened the doorposts which (b) had been propped up by the obstacle (= the rock)'. (a) and (b) actually refer to the same action in different ways: 'He strengthened the door posts by propping them ...'

ōbicē: the word is connected with *obicio* (= *ob-iacio*) and *ob-* makes a long syllable because of the memory of the consonant *i* of *iacio*. But the vowel remains short. (Aulus Gellius (iv.17.10–12) describes how the learned Sulpicius Apollinaris accommodated this short vowel to the first position in *Geo*.ii.480 *obicibus*: 'he pronounced the *o* short, but gave the (first) *i* a somewhat more generous and broader sound'.)

228–32. On the effects in this passage see also Intro. pp. 47–50.

228. **ecce**: the narrator steps into his text to draw our attention sharply back to Hercules. **aderat**: vivid: not 'he arrived', but 'there he was'. **furens animis**: 'maddened with anger'; nearly a tautology. **Tirynthius**: 'the hero from Tiryns', that is Hercules. Hercules's labours were performed at the instruction of Eurystheus, king of Tiryns, to whom he had had to submit as a slave after killing his own children. **omnemque**: a 'hypermetric'* line, where there is an extra last syllable which is elided* against a vowel at the beginning of the following line. Gellius (xii.2.10) quotes Seneca: 'The only reason why

Virgil occasionally writes lines which are harsh, odd, or metrically over-long is so that his Ennius-admiring audience should appreciate archaic* flavour in a modern poem' – an instance of Virgil being very insensitively read by a great writer of Latin. It is not impossible to feel an effect: Hercules is in such a hurry that one line falls over the next. Compare iv.629, Dido's curse on Aeneas and his men as they depart: *pugnent ipsique nepotesque*, 'let them fight, themselves and their descendants'. A particularly harsh example because a major break in the sense follows. Dido is perhaps desperately anxious to get into the future and there take her revenge.

229. **lustrans** and 231 **lustrat**: on *lustr* see 151–2 n.

230. **dentibus infrendens**: a colourful phrase, with assonance of *e* and consonant pairs beginning with *n*. Gnashing 'with the teeth' is the normal expression. The sequence of present participles (*furens*, *lustrans*, *infrendens*) portrays Hercules's frustration.

231. **Aventini**: *Aventinus* or *Aventinum* is a noun, like *Capitolium* or *Palatium* (51–4, note). One might expect *montem Aventinum*, like *urbem Romam* 'the city of Rome', but cf. i.247 *urbem Patavi* (NLG 202, GL361 'appositive genitive*').

231–2. **valle**: abl. of place* without preposition, cf. *luco* 271. The three phrases form a tricolon*, each element introduced by *ter* in anaphora*. Unlike 215–16, this tricolon is decidedly a diminuendo (i.e. leading to anticlimax): the first element substantial and forceful, held together by the long hyperbaton* *totum ... montem* and with *fervidus ira* stressed at line-end; the second with a much-diminished hyperbaton and the adverb *nequiquam* coming (unusually) after its verb and heavily stressed at the end, and the last a mere four words, three of them representing frustration (even *valle* suggests 'down'). (◉ Look at Wikipedia: the bronze figure 'Boxer at Rest')

233. **stabat**: the verb begins the sentence like a new start, as Hercules looks up from where he sits in frustrated exhaustion. It also has the form of an ecphrasis*, a discursive passage of description which continues for a few lines, after which its relevance is indicated by some part of *hic* – as here *hanc* in 236. **silex**: the word, originally masc., was made fem. on

Virgil's authority (Servius); he was perhaps basing himself on 'stone' in Homer (= λίθος), which can be masc. or fem.

praecisis saxis: abl. of quality* (GL400; NLG 226).

234. **dorso:** simplest to take as abl. of place*, but perhaps more vivid as dat., as after *immineo*: i.420 a hill 'hangs over the city of Carthage – *imminet urbi*'. **altissima visu:** 'sky-high in the looking-at'. *visu* is supine*; for the usage see GL436, NLG 340.2.

235. **dirae volucres:** *dirus* (i) 'ill-omened'. Birds which are regularly 'ill-omened' are owls: the *bubo*, the eagle-owl (A.iv.462; Ov. *Met.* xv.791) and the *strix* (Hor.*Ep.* 5.20, Tib.i.5.52); Hor. *Od.* iii.27.1 might suggest we could add the *parra*, the nightjar; (ii) generally 'appalling' (iii.228, vi.498), so perhaps carrion birds, vultures, crows and such. Vultures were not *dirus* in sense (i), indeed Romulus's twelve vultures constituted the good omen which led to Rome being established on the Palatine (Liv.vii.1). But they did have unpleasant associations. Seneca *Ep.* 95.43: if you visit a dying person in the expectation of a legacy, you are a vulture waiting for a corpse. Cacus provided plenty of corpses (195–7). Both owls and vultures make big messy nests which could be conspicuous on the *alta silex*. All this however forms a somewhat literal-minded note which does not do justice to the impression of horror which Virgil evidently wishes to create.

236. **ut:** 'as' with a sense of 'because': Hercules was pushing the rock the way it wanted to go. **prona iugo:** 'leaning out from the ridge'. **laevum:** in some contexts *laevus* has an unfavourable sense (E.1.16, A.ii.54), in others a decidedly favourable one (A.ii.693, ix.631), but where, as here, we have 'left/right' in contrast, the meaning seems to be purely directional, that is in the direction of the river. Hercules was going up the Aventine from the south; we are looking at it from the north; the river is on his left. Virgil has probably taken the trouble to give us this detail so that it is clear that we have a front-view of Hercules in action. ('We' = (i) Evander watching perhaps from the Palatine when this actually happened, (ii) Arcadians and Trojans envisaging past events and looking at the Aventine from the Ara Maxima.)

237. **dexter**: ‘standing on its right-hand side.’ **in adversum nitens**: ‘straining at the side which was facing him’.

238. **avulsam**: agreeing with *hanc* (236) and referring to the *silex*.

239. **impulit**: ‘gave it a mighty shove’. Part of the idea of ‘mighty’ comes from the placing of the word – enjambment*, with a single dactylic word occupying the first foot and with a major punctuation following. The following lines in Book viii contain the same arrangement or nearly so: 6, 87, 114, 136, 325, 343, 484, 543, 583, 614 and 705. It is worth considering their different effects. **quo** is a connecting relative*; the normal order would be *quo impulsu*: ‘and with this push ...’ Virgil is wanting to put the two related words as close together as possible (‘figura etymologica’). **maximus aether**: ‘the whole huge sky’ (cf. *maximus orbis* G.i.26). With this hyperbole*, continued into the following simile*, the conflict takes on cosmic scale.

240. **refluit**: see on 87. Here it is either the physical effect of the huge rock falling into the stream, or the effect of the horrendous sound of Hercules uprooting it. If the latter cf. also 9.124–5: seeing Aeneas’s ships turned into sea nymphs *cunctatur et amnis rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto* – ‘Even the roaring river hesitated: Tiber retreated from the sea’. Personification* of the river is stressed here by *exterritus*.

241–2. Subjects are **specus** and **regia**, **detecta** agreeing with **regia** but referring to both, verb singular as often. **regia**: Servius, dismissively: ‘or so Cacus thought of it’. *ingens regia* makes an interesting variation on the metrical feature discussed on 239: the phrase is stressed by enjambment* and what looks as if it is going to be word ending corresponding with the end of the foot (‘diaeresis’*) – but the elision* *regia ... et* hurries us on. **patuere**: syncopated* perf.

243–6. **non secus ac**: ‘not otherwise than ...’; ‘just as’, a regular phrase for introducing a simile*. **non secus ac ... dehiscens**: ‘just as if the earth, gaping wide under some force ...’ (**penitus** is repeated probably because it is a linking idea from the cave to the simile of the

underworld – a sort of anaphora*. But possibly it is an error in the MSS, a copyist having used it instead of some such word as *late* ‘over a wide area.’) The simile is adapted from *Iliad* xx. 59–65: an earthquake is Poseidon’s contribution to the events marking the return of Achilles to the battlefield: ‘Poseidon caused the boundless earth and the steep crags on the mountains to tremble; ... In the depths Aidoneus, lord of the dead below, was struck with horror, and leapt yelling from his throne, terrified that Poseidon the earthshaker would split apart the earth above him, and that his dank and dreadful dwellings, which even the gods abhor, would be laid bare to mortals and immortals’ (A. Verity). Macrobius (v.16.12) noted that ‘event’ in Homer was being transferred into simile in Virgil. **super** here = *desuper* (from above); by picking the idea up in 249 Virgil invites us to concentrate on this idea as we envisage the scene. **barathrum**: a Greek word; at Athens a ‘death-pit’ where criminals could be thrown to die. Otherwise it does not seem to be used at a very elevated level of discourse (Plaut. *Curc.*121, *Rud.*570) until Lucretius (iii.966) uses it of the pit of Hell in the generation before Virgil.

243. Most Virgilian lines have six or seven words; this has nine (only eleven in Book viii have nine or more); five of them are monosyllables. The effect is to shatter the smoothness of the rhythm, as the imagined earthquake shatters the ground.

245. The disgusting (*dis invisā*) pallor of the underworld may reflect the disgusting pallor of the faces of Cacus’s victims (197) and encourage us to see Cacus’s house as a realm of the dead and Hercules’s achievement as a victory of life over death – which would justify the apocalyptic description of the struggle.

246. The spirits of the dead are often described as ‘strengthless’ (*Od.*x.521 etc.); in *A.*vi 489–93 they shrank in terror from the sight of the living Aeneas. Here the point is presumably the absolute contrast between the upper world of light and the lower world of darkness; the light is the victor and reduces its opponents to impotence. Cacus, as a creature of both worlds, is less easy to subdue.

248. **insueta**: lit. ‘bellowing out unaccustomed (noises)’. NLG 176.2 (Note) ‘acc. of result’; GL332.2 n.6 ‘inner object’*. ‘Bellowing as never before’ (Williams).

249. **telis**: *telum* can be used of a missile of any sort. **omnia arma**: ‘all sorts of weapons’ – not his accustomed ones. A sign of his uncontrollable fury.

250. **molaribus**: rocks the size of millstones. This size of rock is used as a weapon in Homer: *Il.vii.270*, *xii.160f*.

251. **super** = *supererat* ‘there was left’. **pericli**: objective* gen. (NLG 200) after **fuga**. ‘Means of escaping danger’.

252–5. A very inventive passage, offering the ideas of smoke and darkness in many different words and expressions. **involvit**: a word which Virgil is fond of in descriptions of water, fire or darkness (G. ii.308, A.ii.251, vi.336). It needs to be wrapped round the tongue as it is spoken! **mirabile dictu**: (supine* in *-u*) adds nothing to the description; it seems to be an interjection by Evander the storyteller which serves to delay and thus emphasize *evomit*.

glomerat: usually of people or animals getting themselves together in a compact mass; also of a fireball G.ii.311, lava from a volcano A.iii.577; Ovid uses it for balls of wool *Met.vi.19*. **sub antro**: ‘down in the cave’ (see 217n.). **fumiferam**: cf. on *paciferae* 116. **commixtis ... tenebris**: take as abl. abs.* (NLG227, GL409–10).

256. ‘Hercules in his anger would not accept this.’ *Non* (or *haud*) *tulit* occurs four more times in Virgil of individuals subjected to intolerable provocation: ii.407, x.538, ix.622 and xii.371. Hercules’s leap is dramatically expressed in the enjambment* of 256–7 and the very strong caesura* in 257. (There is a similar rhythmic pattern between 265 and 266.)

257–8. The clash of ictus* and accent* in the first four feet of 257 makes the jump more dramatic. **qua ... undam fumus agit**: ‘Where the most smoke drove a wave’ is Virgilian for, presumably, ‘the source of the

wave of smoke.' **nebula ... atra** repeats the idea as theme and variation. Dryden's version is imaginative: 'The wrathful god ... gropes his way, Half singed, half stifled, till he grasps his prey.'

259. **hic**: 'here.'

260. **in nodum**: read with **complexus**. Rather as in 227 *fultos emuniit*, the verb + participle here – **corripit ... complexus** – refer not to successive events ('having entwined ... he seizes') but to the same event seen in two different ways. *Corripit* acquires from its position some of the force which *impulit* has in 239 – an act of sudden violence – and *complexus in nodum* describes the process: 'getting his hands around him knotwise' (Fordyce's word, comparing 673 *in orbem* 'in a ring' and 453 *in numerum* 'rhythmically'). The knot is a strangling one, as is Amata's noose in xii.603.

elisos and **siccum sanguine** are proleptic*: 'throttled him so that the eyes started from his head and his throat was drained of blood.' *Siccum* is followed by the abl. like *vacuus*: *consilium periculo vacuum* 'a danger-free scheme' Cic. Att. x.8.5 ('separation'* NLG214.1(d)).

262. **foribus revulsis**: Virgil does not trouble us with the question of how the *fores* relate to the portcullis (225–7).

263. A striking line of only four words with the two heavy participle adjectives in alliteration* and homoioteleuton* (rhymed endings); the sense of the adj. (first in the line) **abstractae** is repeated in the noun **rapinae** (last in the line); it is the two adjectives which convey Cacus's two offences: to steal and to deny the theft. This denial appears in Dionysius's narrative (i.39: on other versions of the story, see Intro. pp. 33–4) also in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 263, on which Virgil has based some of this account, but has not done so until now in Virgil's own. For apparently important elements in the narrative appearing only after the occasion on which they might seem important, cf iv.343, the first time we hear of prophecies requiring Aeneas's departure from Carthage. 'Characteristic of the selective technique of Alexandrian narrative poetry' (Fordyce).

265. **nequeunt**: This could be translated '(Their) hearts cannot be satisfied with gazing at (those) terrible eyes ...'. But it is likely that Virgil thought of the subject as being 'the Arcadians', that is *nostri* (222), in which case *corda* will be like *pectora* in 29: 'they cannot be satisfied in their hearts' (retained acc.* NLG 178.2, cf. GL338n.2).

266–7. A jerky pair of lines, representing the amazement and horror of the onlookers: a two-word phrase, a one-word phrase and a four-word phrase in enjambment (with the shape made more uncertain by the possibility of understanding **terribiles** with all three nouns); add to this that there is no caesura* in 267; but then it ends happily with **extinctos ... ignes**, a half-line with ictus and accent* coinciding. The connections between the phrases are all different: asyndeton*, *-que*, *atque*. **semiferi**: cf 194 *semihominis*. **faucibus** is easier to understand as 'from' than 'in'.

268. **ex illo sc. tempore**. The Hercules festival of Evander's time explains the Hercules festival of Virgil's. The story is an aetiology*. **celebratus (est) honos**: 'the mark of our esteem has been kept up' – *celebrare* having its root meaning of 'perform frequently'. **minores**: usually in the sense of 'later generations'. But here we know that Evander was himself present at Hercules's visit (see esp. 362–3). Evander is perhaps regarding those around him as being of a different generation. Of his model Nestor Homer says 'In his lifetime two generations of mortal men had already died ... and he was now ruling over the third' (*Il.i.247–252*); this is indeed consistent with the account in Dionysius i.31.1 which brings Evander to Italy in the sixtieth year before the Trojan War. Alternatively this is Virgil speaking of his own era (Galinsky in ORVA 22).

269. **servavere**: for *servaverunt*. **Potitius, domus Pinaria**: The institution of the Hercules festival is related in Livy i.7.3–8. The two families Potitius and Pinarius 'the most distinguished residents in the area' were given the responsibility of organizing the sacrifice. The Potitii arrived in time and were served with the sacrificial meat, but the Pinarii were late, missed out and ever thereafter had to be content with a second-class role. (The story is likely to have arisen out of a humorous

etymology: *Potitius* from *potior* ‘get possession’; *Pinarius* from Greek πεινάω ‘be hungry’.) The Potitius family had died out by Augustan times, but one of the consuls of 29 BCE was a Valerius Potitus. (Dio li.21.1–2). There was a living Pinarius, but he missed out because at the time he was governor of Cyrene (Libya). There is no record of anyone enjoying the joke in antiquity.

271. **luco**: ‘in a grove’, abl. of place* ‘where’ without preposition as in 232 *valle*, or perhaps ‘in its grove’ (West) cf. 104. Servius comments on *luco*: ‘because Hercules did not yet have a temple’, possibly because he thought *ara* implied the existence of a temple, though Richardson’s view (*Topographical Dictionary* p.19) is ‘The independent altar seems to have been the commonest expression of piety in the early period.’ **statuit**: takes both **Potitius** and **domus Pinaria** as subjects. The verb is singular, determined by ‘nearest subject’ as often (NLG 225.2(a)). Given the recorded stories about these families, *statuit* seems much less appropriate a term for *domus Pinaria* than for Potitius. Even for Potitius, *auctor* seems strained. Some editors (e.g. Williams) have punctuated at the end of 270 and made Hercules subj. of *statuit* – but this very abrupt change is more strained than anything.

271–2: The repetition of the same phrase, **quae maxima semper**, at the same position in two successive verses creates a very striking emphasis. In fact the whole passage has Evander/Virgil telling the story in very strong colours: there is no doubt that Virgil wished to emphasize it, and he does so with some care. We have two clauses *quae ... dicetur* and *erit ... semper*. They form a neat chiasmus, *quae ... semper* forming the two outer elements, each of half a line. Between is another half-line unit containing the inner elements of the chiasmus *dicetur* and *erit*, stressed by their position at the beginning and end of the half-line and by *nobis* holding apart the two *quae*-clauses as well as *dicetur* and *erit*, and going with both.

273. **quare**: ‘And therefore ...’ The reason for the celebration is given by the whole story from 185 to 272. **iuvenes**: he addresses Trojans and Arcadians together – see 275.

273. **in munere** ‘in appreciation of’ is a slightly odd expression occurring elsewhere only in v.536; for the gen. with *munus* cf. Seneca *Oct.* 126: (of Poppaea and Nero) *paelicem cuius in munus suam Stygiae parentem imposuit rati*. ‘... a prostitute, as a reward for whom he had set his own mother aboard the boat to Hades.’ **laudum**: *laudes* are ‘actions deserving praise’.

274. **pōcula porgite**: ‘hold out’ in order to pour libations, an appropriate gesture at the beginning of a feast.

275. **communemque vocate deum**: ‘Call on him who is god of us all.’ An unusual rhythm: there is no strong caesura* at all (**et** attaches to the following word so closely that this word break does not count).

276. **cum**: *cum inversum**, as in 98. Virgil could easily have written *tum*. *Cum* seems to suggest the speed, that is the enthusiasm, with which the feast was now resumed. ‘And then the two-coloured poplar covered his hair with Herculean shadow and, woven with leaves, hung down.’ **bicolor populus**: (distinguish *pōpulus* and *pōpulus*) the poplar is *bicolor* with its leaves silvery grey underneath and green on top. In *E.7.61* the poplar is described as *Alcidae gratissima* (cf. *G.ii.66*; *A.v.174*; Nisbet on *Hor. Od.i.7.23*). Evander’s head-covering seems to be in appearance like that of sacrificing priests: a woollen circle round the head with pendants (*vittae*) either side, except that here it is made entirely of poplar sprays (Conington; Servius on *A.x.538*). **Herculea umbra**: because of the poplar tree’s association with Hercules. The poplar wreath may be Virgil’s invention: it seems that in his day priests at the Ara Maxima wore wreaths of laurel (Servius on this line; *Macr. iii.12.1ff*). **foliis**: abl. ‘Woven *by means of leaves* into his hair’ (instrumental* abl.), or ‘Woven *with leaves*’, that is ‘made of woven leaves’ (descriptive* abl).

277. **-que ... -que**: see on 94.

278. **scyphus**: a large drinking vessel specially associated with Hercules, according to Macrobius v.21.16–17, because he was a heavy drinker and because it was in the wine-cup of the Sun that he crossed the sea to Geryon’s country.

279. **in mensam .. libant:** Why onto the table and not the altar? According to Macrobius (iii.11.4–8) both altars and tables at temple precincts were consecrated at the same time as the temple was originally dedicated, so were equally appropriate for the performance of ritual. The libation was only a token offering: after Dido pours her libation onto the table in i.734, almost the whole of the bowl is still left for Bitias to drink at one go.

280–305. Evening approaches. The feast is resumed. A hymn in praise of Hercules is sung.

280. This line indicates the approach of evening, though it is not entirely clear how. **devexo ... Olympo:** (i) abl. abs.* ‘While Olympus is on a downward slope’: that is the daytime sky is rolling downwards, about to be replaced by the night-time sky (cf. ii.250 *vertitur interea caelum*: ‘the sky turns over’); (ii) abl. of place*: ‘in the downward sloping’ (area of the) sky, that is near the horizon. **propior fit:** presumably ‘gets brighter’ (as the sun’s light fades). **Vesper** is the planet Venus, the evening and also, as Lucifer, the morning star.

281. **ibant:** ‘began’ (impf.) ‘to move.’ ‘Got going’ gives the idea, even if the words are not apt. On **Potitius** see 269n.

282. **pellibus ... cincti:** this seems to be Virgil’s own invention. The only festival in historical times where animal (goat) skins were worn was the Lupercalia on 15 February, and the *Luperci* who celebrated it were not priests. (The joint mention of *Salii* and *Luperci* in 653 may encourage the idea that Virgil has the *Luperci* in mind here.) But the point may be that the *Luperci* thought of themselves as a society whose origin lay in the depths of time (see Cicero’s amusing mockery of them at *Cael.* 26). Faunus was their ancient patron (Ov. *Fasti* ii.423–4), and *Fauni* are associated by Evander (314–8) with a pre-agricultural society living by hunting and therefore presumably dressing in skins. Priests dressed in skins would thus represent ancient tradition even in Evander’s settlement and would go some way to justifying his claim (187) that this festival is not *veterum ignara deorum*. This idea would make sense

of **in morem**: ‘according to custom’ (*in* OLD 18a). The cave sanctuary of the Luperci is one of the sites passed by Evander and Aeneas on their walk (343). See note on 343 for a difficulty with the explanation offered here. **flammas**: it is a torchlight procession, unless the flames are there only to provide the fire of 285.

283. **instaurant**: see 110–11n. **mensae ... dona**: in classical times the *mensa secunda* was the second course: fruit and wine; Virgil uses the phrase in the plural at G.ii.101 to mean just this. But it could simply refer to the second phase of the feast after the *instauratio*, so that the *lances* of 284 are loaded with *exta* from the morning’s sacrificial victims. It was in any case a rule of the festival that everything should be consumed on the spot and nothing taken away (Varro *LL*.vi.54).

284. **cumulant** and **oneratis** combine to suggest lavishness.

285. **Salii**: the *Salii* were a company (*sodalitas*) of young men who by tradition performed ritual dances in honour (at Rome) of Mars and Quirinus. They were drawn from patrician families – the old aristocracy of Rome. They wore an ancient and colourful type of uniform and carried shields also of an ancient design. Fragments of a ritual song of theirs have been recorded but were regarded as barely intelligible even in Virgil’s time (Hor. *Epistles* ii.1.87–8). At Tibur, a hill-city close to Rome, there were *Salii* dedicated to Hercules, who was there the patron-god, but there is no evidence of any association with Hercules at Rome. It is likely that here too (as in 282) Virgil is providing Evander’s festival with some colourful antiquity. (See OCD: *Salii* and *Carmen Saliare*.)

ad cantus: (i) ‘they are there in order to sing’ (*ad* OLD45 and cf. GL340 Rem.2), or (ii) ‘they are there to musical accompaniment’ (*ad* OLD39); *cantus* can refer to instrumental as well as vocal music. **altaria** here refers not to the altars themselves, but to the offerings placed on them (OLD2).

286. **adsunt**: a vivid present tense, having the same sort of effect as *ecce* in 228.

evincti tempora ramis: ‘wreathed round their foreheads with poplar sprays’. *Tempora* is acc. of respect*, see 28–30n. *Ramus* does not need to mean anything as substantial as ‘a branch’.

287–8. **hic ... ille:** ‘This one is a chorus of youths, that one of older men’ – as if we and Virgil were present and he were pointing things out to us. This use of the pronoun is called ‘deictic’ (‘pointing-out’), cf. 185–6. The historical Salii were also divided into two groups, but not by age (OCD).

laudes ... et facta: hendiadys* ‘praiseworthy/glorious deeds’; the adj. **Herculeas** goes with both nouns though it agrees only with *laudes*.

288–9. **ut ... eliserit ... disiecerit ... pertulerit:** ‘(they tell) how’; it is an indirect question, hence the verbs in the (perfect) subjunctive. **novercae:** a stepmother is usually a husband’s second wife having power over his children by the first. Alcmene was Hercules’s mother; his stepmother here is Juno, his father Jupiter’s first wife. The expression has some value as a paradox, also as referring to the traditional cruelty of stepmothers: Hor. *Epodes* 5.9: ‘Why are you staring at me like a stepmother or a wild beast?’ **monstra:** *monstrum* refers to an event so odd that it has to be understood as advice (*√moneo*) from a god. It develops (‘an extraordinary creature’) so as to mean what we understand by ‘monster’. **geminosque angues:** The phrase with *-que* does not add anything new, it explains the preceding phrase; the monsters *are* the two snakes sent by Juno to kill the infant Hercules in his cradle (©Metropolitan Museum 25.28). He strangled them both!

290. **bello** possibly with **egregias**, ‘outstanding in warfare’, but neither Oechalia (see below) nor even Troy had a specially warlike reputation; the word could also go with **disiecerit**. **idem:** ‘he the same person’, effectively ‘he also’ (OLD8). **disiecerit:** West vividly if excessively translates ‘tore stone from stone’.

291. **Troiamque Oechaliamque:** (i) Troy: In the generation before the Trojan war Troy was troubled by a sea-monster. Priam’s father

Laomedon had offered up his daughter Hesione to it. Hercules was travelling past Troy and undertook to rescue Hesione in return for the gift of horses which Laomedon had received from Zeus/Jupiter. When Hercules succeeded, Laomedon treacherously refused him the horses. In response Hercules (much later) sacked Troy and gave Hesione to Telamon of Salamis (see 157–9n.). (ii) Oechalia: Eurytus king of Oechalia promised his daughter Iole to anyone who could defeat him in an archery context. Hercules did so, but Eurytus refused to hand over Iole. Again much later, according to the story, Hercules returned, sacked Oechalia and seized Iole. Sophocles, to whose *Trachiniae* this story is the background, places Oechalia on the island of Euboea. (March, pp 195 and 196).

With what emotions does Aeneas hear the reference to the sacking of Troy? Virgil offers no suggestion except through his audience's natural recollection of earlier passages, especially Book ii.

mille: twelve is the standard number for Hercules's 'labours' for King Eurystheus (see below), but the tradition records many more without being always clear whether a particular story relates to Eurystheus; *mille* is conventional for an unknown high number. The most extensive account of Hercules's deeds appears in a mythological encyclopaedia known as *The Library*; it was attributed to Apollodorus, the second-century BCE scholar of Alexandria, but is actually regarded as dating from the early centuries CE (OCD).

292. **rege sub Eurystheo:** the last two vowels of this name are pronounced together as a single syllable ('synizesis*'). Eurystheus was king of Argos and Tiryns; the Delphic oracle sentenced Hercules to serve as a slave to him after Hercules in madness killed his own wife and children; the traditional twelve labours are those which Hercules performed for Eurystheus (March p. 193). **fatis Iunonis iniquae:** See on 289 for why Juno was 'prejudiced against' Hercules. She is prejudiced against Aeneas and the Trojans too, and sexual jealousy is again part of the reason (i.27–8). Virgil does not carry this parallel any further. **fatis:** *fatum* is usually independent of the will of any god or goddess except

Jupiter (iv.614 *fata Iovis*), whose will, as supreme god, comes closest to Destiny. 'The fates of the gods' (collectively: *deum/divum* gen.pl.) occurs not infrequently. Only here is fate attributed to another divinity by name. Perhaps we should think of it as 'the destiny imposed on him by Juno', metaphorical* certainly, but carrying the required suggestion of unavoidability.

293. **pertulerit** in enjambment* and concluding a sentence: it underlines Hercules's power of endurance; the *per-* prefix also contributes. **tu:** this introduces a striking switch from indirect narrative of the hymn's content to direct quotation from it. The repetition of *tu* is familiar from hymns addressed to gods ('cletic' hymns); cf. Catullus 34, 13–17. Here it is managed with particular care. The address to Hercules is divided into six sections falling into three pairs introduced by *tu ... tu*, then *te ... te*, then *nec te... non te*. **nubigenas, invicte, bimembres:** 'Cloud-born' refers to the centaurs. Ixion was a king in Thessaly; Zeus's wife Hera (=Juno) complained that he had attempted to rape her. Zeus tested him by creating a Hera-shaped cloud, which he did rape, and when Centaurus, the son born to this union, mated with the mares of Thessaly, the half-human, half-horse (*bimembres*) Centaurs were born. *Invicte* is apt for Hercules's constant triumphs and also because it is a formal cult title of Hercules at the Ara Maxima. The sequence of three compound adjectives is unique in Virgil. It may be part of a Greek quality to this passage, coming out also in repeated *-que* in 294 and in the switch from third person to second person in this line, recalling the hymn to Apollo in Apollonius ii.700–19.

294–5. **Hylaeumque Pholumque:** 'both H. and P.', who are centaurs. Hercules's most famous battle with the centaurs occurred when he was present at the marriage feast of Pirithous, king of the Lapiths, to Hippodamia. The centaurs were invited, but got drunk and attempted to rape the Lapith women. Hylaeus was one of these centaurs. There was an entirely different story current about Pholus, a good centaur whose death at Hercules's hands was accidental and much regretted

(March p. 320). But in G.ii.456 Virgil had already written about Pholus as if he was one of the misbehaving centaurs. (⊗Louvre G367). **Cresia** ... **prodigia**: 'Cretan monsters', plural for singular; the reference is to the great bull which terrorized the islanders (Apollodorus ii.5.7). Hercules captured it and brought it back to Eurystheus (so *mactas* is inappropriate for this labour, though appropriate for the centaurs and the lion). **Nemeae** ... **leonem**: to kill the lion of Nemea was the first of the labours performed for Eurystheus. The lionskin which he was required to show Eurystheus became the garment by which he is always recognized. *Nemeae* probably to be taken as gen. with *rupe*; the phrases *vastum leonem* and *Nemeae sub rupe* thus balance.

296. **Stygii lacus, ianitor Orci**: The last in the canonical order of Hercules's labours was to kidnap Cerberus, watchdog of the Underworld, 'gatekeeper of Orcus'. To get there he must cross 'the waters of (the river) Styx'. Both of these (the river personified*) are seen as trembling before him.

297. A grisly description of Cerberus in his underworld kennel. **antro**: abl. of place* without prep. **super**: with *ossa* either in anastrophe* or to be read closely with *semesa* as in such standard phrases as *mare per magnum* 'over the great sea'. **ossa semesa**: the literal-minded will protest that there is no supply of bones in Hades: you cannot get there without being cremated (Palinurus: vi.337–83). But Virgil had his authority in Hesiod's *Theogony*, where Cerberus is called 'eater of raw flesh'. In vi.395–6 Charon, the infernal ferryman, recalls how effectively Hercules had dealt with Cerberus.

298–9. **te** is elided*, perhaps surprisingly since it is the repeated second person pronoun which holds this paragraph together, but the effect is to stress the negative **nec** which introduces the third section (see on 293 above). **facies**: perhaps 'apparition' (see 194n.). **Typhoeus**: Zeus's last and most terrifying enemy after the Giants were defeated (March p. 393). Taller than mountains and with monstrous snakes instead of legs (⊗ Staatliche Antikensammlungen 596), he was finally crushed when Zeus hurled Mount Etna on top of him; he still lies beneath it,

breathing out fire in the form of volcanic eruptions. (Pindar *Pythian* 1, 13–2, though it is a different giant, Enceladus, who has suffered this fate in iii.578–82.) He is only tenuously associated with Hercules in the tradition (Eur. *Heracles* 1271f.), but the fires of Etna soon become relevant to Virgil's story (414–22), and Cacus also had breathed fire. **arduus**: 'towering high'.

299–300. **non te ... anguis**: 'You were not resourceless when the Lernaean snake enveloped you with its mass of heads.' In the canonical order of the Labours the second was to kill the Hydra of Lerna, close to Argos. The creature had nine snake-heads; each head, once cut off, would be instantly replaced by two. It required *ratio* ('method, resourcefulness') to deal with this problem: Hercules's solution was to cauterize each stump as he severed the head. Hercules is often associated with plain brute strength. It is no doubt in order to qualify this idea that the reference to the Hydra comes last in the hymn. Hercules had also shown *ratio* in his pursuit of Cacus (230–40). **turba capitem**: a striking phrase; the idea was vividly illustrated by the Danish sculptor Rudolph Tegner (@tegnertegner.com).

The concluding passage in Horace *Odes* iii.4 (65–80), a poem which was written while Virgil was at work on the *Aeneid*, is concerned with the Giants. It begins *vis consili expers mole ruit sua* 'Strength unsupported by intelligence collapses under its own bulk.' The *consilium* by which the gods overcome the giants is reflected in the *consilium* which the gods bestow on Augustus in lines 41–2 of the poem. In Virgil Hercules overcomes giants and subdues Cacus by the light of *ratio*, foreshadowing Augustus in a similar way.

301. **vera**: Hercules has proved himself a genuine son of Jupiter by his achievements. Thus Dido in iv.12 concludes from Aeneas's exploits that he is *genus deorum*. **decus addite divis**: it is not just that Hercules derives glory from admission to Olympus, but that Olympus derives glory from him. The succession of two-syllable words (the whole line except for *addite*), each accented* on the first, creates a rough rhythm conveying the company's exaltation.

302. **adi:** 'visit'. **dexter:** agreeing with understood *tu*, subject of *adi*. *Dexter* refers to the right-hand side, the side of good omen in Greek and increasingly so in Roman augury, hence 'favourable'. **secundo** conveys the same idea: 'Come to us on kindly steps.' The line is striking for having nine words, as opposed to the standard 5–7. There are more word-stresses than there are feet, making for slow enunciation, and the t's and d's give it weight – making for a suitable climax to the song.

304. **adiunct:** 'they add (songs about) ...' Cacus does not appear in the hymn as we have it, so the evening evidently proceeds with further performances. **ignibus:** 'breathing with fire'. Virgil also treats *spiro* as transitive: *G.ii.140 tauri spirantes naribus ignem* 'fire-breathing bulls'.

305. **strepitu:** 'hubbub'. It is not so solemn an evening that good music is the only echoing sound.

306. **ad urbem:** with **redeunt;** characteristically interlocking phrases.

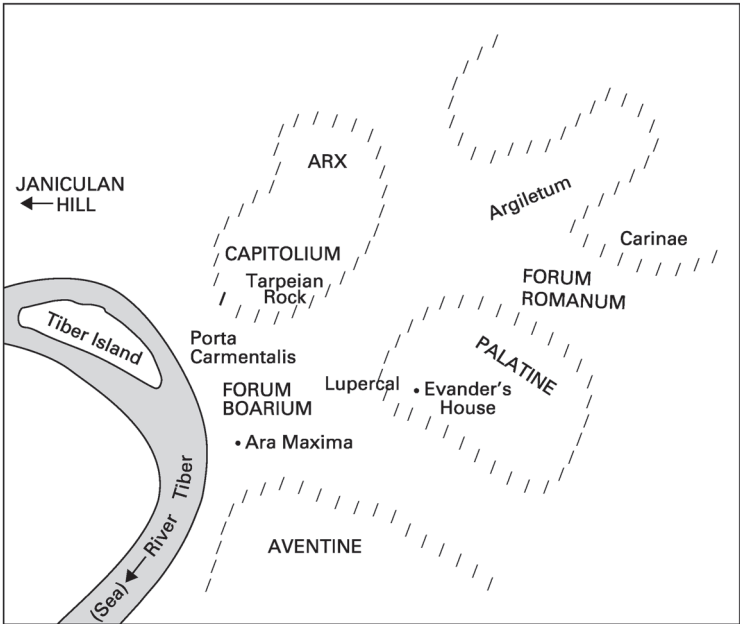
307. **obsitus:** from root *sero* 'sow'; hence 'all sown over', 'overgrown' with age: an agricultural metaphor* from a field useless because of weeds and undergrowth.

308. **et comitem ... ingrediens:** 'and kept Aeneas and his son walking-with-him (*comitem*) close by (*iuxta*) as he went along'. Both *iuxta* and *comitem* refer to both Aeneas and Pallas.

309. **viam levabat:** 'made the way more pleasant'

310–13. Aeneas's reaction to his first view of the site of Rome is amazement, curiosity and delight. This is not a state of mind which we have seen before in the *Aeneid*. His reactions to the sight of Carthage in Book I were envy (437) and grief (465). Even in vi, we hear of no reaction on Aeneas's part to the display of future Roman greatness (756–853) after his astonishment (721) that anyone at all should wish to extend life to a second birth.

310–11. These two lines are of identical metrical design, and the main point is given in the first words of the lines, **miratur Aeneas. faciles**



Map 2 Pallanteum/Rome as visited by Aeneas.

oculos: *facilis* in the sense of ‘compliant’, ‘willing’. **circum** goes with the preceding word **omnia** (anastrophe*).

311–12. The wide separation of **singula** from **monimenta** ‘reminders’ emphasizes both. The words frame **laetus exquirique auditque**, where both *laetus* and the repeated *-que* suggest Aeneas’s attentiveness to Evander’s account.

314–36. Evander introduces Aeneas to Italy with a ‘history’ down to his own times, a mixture of popular belief, folk-tale, Lucretian anthropology and Italian patriotism. It presents two themes important to the *Aeneid*: Saturn as a benign immigrant ruler and the Golden Age.

313. **conditor:** In historical times *arx* referred to the summit of the Capitoline hill. Virgil is insisting on the earlier date of the Palatine settlement. (It was where Romulus built his wall, and it acquired a new significance in Augustus’s day with the building of the temple of Apollo and because Augustus himself lived there. Horace refers to *Palatinas arces* in *Carm. Saec.* 65.) This spondaic line dignifies Evander himself and forms a suitably weighty introduction to his speech. *Conditor* appears here only in the *Aeneid*.

314. **nemora:** The trees round the *Ara* are a *lucus*. The settled area of the city is hardly *nemora*, so Evander is evidently now pointing to all the countryside facing him – the Capitoline hill and the heights beyond the river – and emphasizing their uncultivated state.

indigenae: literally ‘born within’. Servius rightly took it as representing the Greek ‘autochthonous’: born from the very land itself. **Fauni:** (i) Everywhere else in the *Aeneid* Faunus is an individual, Latinus’s father, grandson of Saturn, a prophet god (vii.45–9, 81–2, etc.). (ii) According to Varro (*LL* vii.36) *Fauni* were ‘gods of the Latins’; he acknowledges also a feminine *Fauna*. Judging by Ennius (*Annales* fr. 228V and Gellius v.21.7) *Fauni* (along with *Aborigines*) were symbols of an ancient and risible lack of culture and civilization. Lucretius (iv.581–4) refers to a belief in nocturnal gatherings of ‘goat-footed satyrs, nymphs and *fauni*’ (See also Thomas on *E.6.27*).

315. **truncis et duro robore** (abl. of origin or source*, GL395, NLG 215: 'from'): another indication that we are talking of the very dawn of human existence. The idea that humans originated from inanimate nature goes back at least to the story of the two survivors of the Great Flood, Pyrrha and Deucalion, who threw stones over their backs which turned into people, thus ensuring the continuity of the race. Humanity is not elsewhere created out of 'trunks of solid oak' (treating the phrase as a hendiadys*), but in Hesiod *Works and Days* 145 Zeus creates men of the bronze age 'out of ash trees, terrible and mighty', and in *Odyssey* xix.163 Penelope asks the disguised Odysseus about his family 'since your parents were not an oak tree and a stone' (i.e. 'you don't come from nowhere').

316–18. Existence before society was invented. This passage reflects Lucretius v.925–61: humans born from the earth – no social organization – no agriculture – living off tree fruits and hunting. It has something in common with Cicero *pro Sestio* 90–91. 'At one time men used to wander in unconnected groups over the countryside, possessing only what they could seize or retain by physical strength and violence.' Cicero was addressing a jury and trying to find common ground with them, that is self-satisfaction with the comfort and the rule of law which 'we' have achieved.

316. **quīs**: short for *quibus*, possessive* dative. **mos**: 'code of behaviour', 'sense of right and wrong'. In vi.852 Anchises tells Aeneas that it will be the duty of Romans *paci imponere morem*: 'to impose good conduct where war has ceased'.

317. **norant**: short for *noverant* 'they knew how to' (+infin.). **parcere parto**: 'to spare that which they had acquired', that is to put something by and save it.

318. **alebat**: the subjects are *rami* and *venatus*; as most often, the verb follows the number of the nearest noun. **asper victu venatus**: 'hunting, (which is) troublesome in the living (it provides)' abl. of respect* (GL397, cf. NLG 226)

319. **primus**: (i) as adj. ‘Saturn was first (to bring civilization)’ (ii) as adv. ‘first S. came, then ...’ (*tum* 328 and 330). Both ideas are present. **Saturnus**: Saturn is here treated as a god with a Greek pedigree, corresponding to Kronos, Zeus’s father. But he is in this book a beneficent deity, so the unpleasant aspects of the conflict between Kronos and his son (that he ate all his children; that their mother Rhea managed to hide Zeus (= Jupiter) until he was old enough to take revenge) are avoided, and Saturn seems less a tyrant than a victim of armed rebellion (320). He seems to have been introduced into Roman cult from Etruria, to judge by his name (Scullard *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* 206). An ancient connection of his name with *satus* from *sero* ‘sow’ appears to be a mistaken attempt to connect the name with his part in the provision of agricultural prosperity (Varro *LL.v.64*, and *DH i.36* and 38). His temple was in the Forum at the foot of the path up the Capitol; his December festival (‘Saturnalia’) is famous for its freedom, fun and present-giving. He has a solemn place as one of the family ancestors in Latinus’s palace (vii.199). He presides over the Golden Age here, at *E.4.6* and by implication in vii.203f. (So it is quite a surprise to find him at xii.831f. apparently characterized by overwhelming rage: see Tarrant’s note there). On Virgil’s use of the idea of the Golden Age, see Intro. pp. 37–8.

320. **arma Iovis fugiens**: according to Homer he was overthrown and flung into Tartarus (*Il.viii.478–81*). Here, quite differently, as an exile, he comes close to the condition of both Evander and Aeneas.

321–2. **indocile** combines the ideas of ‘untaught’ and ‘hard to teach’, **composuit**: ‘brought (them) together’. **legesque dedit**: Accounts of the Golden Age differ, but in Virgil’s own (*E.4*), and later Ovid’s (*Met.* i.89–113) there is no call for agriculture or even any social structure. Aratus (*Phaen.* 100–14) has the goddess Dikē (Greek: ‘justice’) settling disputes; here Saturn provides laws, as is proper for a predecessor of the city-founders Evander, Aeneas, and ultimately Augustus. **Latium**: as if the word in 321 had been (e.g.) *regionem* rather than *genus*. (Unless this is to be thought of as the neuter of the adj. *Latius*, not found elsewhere in Virgil but used occasionally by Ovid.)

322. **maluit**: ‘chose in preference to other possibilities’ (Conington). ‘Saturnia’ (329 and G.ii.173) would hardly have done, given his wish to remain secret.

323. **latuisset**: subj. because it is the reason attributed to Saturn (implied indirect speech*) rather than vouched for by Virgil. Place-name origin hunting was a pastime: Varro (according to Servius on this line) also appealed to *lateo*, but ‘because Italia lurks between the heights of Alps and Apennine’. **oris**: see on 51.

324. **aurea quae perhibent ...**: ‘under him as king was the age which they call Golden’. The Golden Age was originally conceived as the first of a deteriorating sequence: gold, silver, bronze and iron. (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 109–200; he adds a ‘heroic age’ between the last two). Ovid adheres to this pattern, with the omission of the heroic age (*Met.* i.89–113). In *E.4* Virgil appears to be working with a reverse sequence, whereby the world is improving by stages towards a new age of gold. Here the decay of society from the golden age seems to go by a different sequence: kingship followed by war-lust (*belli rabies*) followed by greed (*amor habendi*) which is curiously reminiscent of the decline from aristocracy in Plato, *Republic* viii. There, after aristocracy comes ‘timocracy’ where society is dominated by the military-minded; after timocracy ‘oligarchy’ where wealth is what matters.

325. Note the emphasis given (i) by *aurea* and *saecula* beginning successive lines; (ii) by the *p*-alliteration*. Binder notes that this line is the exact midpoint of Evander’s speech: things improve up to this point and then fall away again.

326. The *d*-alliteration* (**deterior**, **decolor** suggest decline) reflects the *p*’s of 325 (**placida**, **pace** suggest a good society).

327. See 324n.

328. **manus Ausonia**: ‘an Ausonian war-band’. *Ausonia* as a noun was a literary name used by Greek writers to refer to Italy as a whole (Apollonius iv.660) and quite frequently by Virgil. *Sicani* is used in

Book v to refer to a people of western Sicily and in vii.795 to a tribe who seem to have lived somewhere to the south of the Tiber estuary. Virgil's choice of these two disparate names seems designed to suggest a disordered sequence of events and to contribute to the idea in *saepius*.

329. **saepius**: 'rather often' 'time and again', for the comparative cf. *ocius* 101, *gravior* 582. **posuit**: 'laid aside'.

330. **reges**: understand *venere* from 328 as the verb. None of these kings are named except Thybris, and he for the sole purpose of explaining the river's name. In Dionysius i.71.2 'Tiberinus' is the seventh king of Alba after Ascanius; the origin of the river name is explained by his death in it. Virgil has evidently transferred him to an earlier date in order to allow Thybris/Tiberinus to introduce himself as such in 64. **asper**: 'rough, fierce' (OLD9). **immani corpore**: a separate description* 'fierce (and) of monstrous physique'.

331–2. 'After whom we Italians have called the river "Thybris" by name.' *Dico* 'call': OLD9. Evander calls himself an Italian. Contrast 502–7.

332. **vetus** must be nom., with **Albula**. If it went, like **verum**, with **nomen**, the two adjectives would require a connecting word. *Albula* appears as an ancient name in Varro *L.L.* v.30; also DH i.71 and Livy i.3.8. Servius connects the name with *albus* 'white'; for other observations see Eden on this line.

333. **pulsum patria**: on Evander's departure from Arcadia see 52–4n. **pelagi extrema**: 'If I take the wings of the morning and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea ...' (Psalm 139.9). *sequor* 'make for', without any conspicuous idea of 'follow': OLD15. He tells the story as if the Arcadians had no specific destination but were sailing endlessly westward until Evander's mother said 'Here'. Dionysius speaks of the Trojan arrival in similar terms (i.55.1).

334. **Fortuna ... fatum**: at one level, these two are opposites – Fortune mutable and capricious, fate firmly fixed (so Servius). In ii.385 and 387 *Fortuna* seems to be 'the luck of the moment'. But there seems little

difference between *fata* in 4.651 and *Fortuna* in 4.653. The ponderous adjectives, the chiasitic* order and the *f*-alliteration* combine to make this line seem to refer a single overwhelming influence.

335–6. **posuere** (syncopated* perfect, as **egere**) picks up the *p*-alliteration of 333 and makes a unit of the sentence as far as **locis**. The first subject of the following sentence (**matris ... monita**, ‘my mother’s instructions’) is given weight comparable to 334 by the hyperbaton* and alliteration*, while the names **Carmentis** (gen.) and **Apollo** frame their line as *Fortuna* and *fatum* theirs.

Carmentis is the Roman name for Evander’s prophetess mother, Themis or Nicostrate in the Greek sources. (On her place in Rome see below 338.) 336 makes a crescendo: from the nymph we move to the god who was responsible (**auctor**) for her *tremenda monita*: that god is none other than Apollo, who has also guided Aeneas (iii.162, vi.77–97, etc.) and will be Augustus’s patron. A suitable conclusion to Evander’s long speech.

337–69. Evander guides Aeneas round future Rome to his home on the Palatine, where he reminds Aeneas of his previous guest Hercules.

337–41. The *ara* and *porta Carmentalis*. Carmentis neatly concludes the previous passage and begins this one. **vix ea dicta (sunt)...**: ‘Scarcely was this said – and then...’. One might expect *cum inversum**. *Dēhinc* (note the scansion) begins a new sentence, creating a more uneven texture, drawing attention to what is now seen. **progressus**: probably to be thought of as equivalent to *progrediens* (GL282) ‘as they were walking on’. **et aram ... quam memorant**: ‘both the altar and the gateway which the Romans describe as belonging to Carmentis.’ The altar is no surprise: Carmentis was Evander’s mother, a minor divinity, and she had had a significant part in bringing Evander to Italy. The gate seems a very deliberate anachronism. It stood at the foot of the Capitol where it is closest to the river and was a way through the Servian walls, traditionally constructed many ages later under Servius Tullius, sixth king of Rome. If the *porta Carmentalis* is identical with the *porta triumphalis* (OCD,

Richardson – but see Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* 97–100), the reference ties in with the coincidence of the date of Aeneas's arrival with the preparation for Augustus's triumph. *Romani*, of course, have yet to be invented: it is Virgil speaking – and not necessarily to fellow-Romans.

Carmentis had, like Hercules, a significant place in Roman religion from early times. Her priest had the title of *flamen*, a function reserved for patricians, the most ancient aristocracy, and her function was to give help in childbirth (OCD). Her altar was just inside the gateway called after her, at the foot of the Capitol where it is nearest the river. Through the gateway it would have been possible (for Virgil) to see the only temple to Apollo ('Apollo Medicus') built under the republic. It was reconstructed and rededicated under Augustus: the date of its rededication was 23 September, Augustus's birthday (Richardson p.13).

340–1. **cecinit quae prima ...** '... who was first to foretell that the sons of Aeneas would be great ...'. Carmentis's prophecy is put into words by Ovid, *Fasti* i.509–36.

342. **hinc**: 'next'. **asylum**: '(To attract an increased population, Romulus) opened as an asylum a place which is now enclosed. You reach it as you go up (the Capitol) between two groves' (Livy i.8.5). 'Asylum' is a Greek word indicating an inviolable place of refuge. The fact that this place in Rome never had any other name suggests that it was founded in deliberate imitation of Greek practice. (To judge by Greek accounts, almost any temple permitted a suppliant to claim sanctuary: Aesch. *Eum.* 64–6; Thuc. i.134, though the Roman 'asylum' was not a temple but simply an enclosed space (Richardson p.40)). **rettulit** is difficult, but its use in v.596ff, of Ascanius 'establishing anew' the *lulus Troiae* as it had been done at home, might support the above interpretation.

343–4. **Lupercal**: a cave under the south-western slope of the Palatine, the sanctuary of the Luperci (see 282n.). The Lupercal was traditionally the place where Romulus and Remus were nursed by the she-wolf (Ov. *Fast.* ii.381–424); 'the she-wolf gave the place its name', that is long after Evander. But in the next couplet Ovid acknowledges the version which

he gives in more detail at *Fast.* v.97–102, (cf. also Livy i.v, DH. i.32.3–4) with the festival and the shrine being established by Evander; according to this the wolf-element in the name derives from the identification of Faunus (see on 282) with Pan, whose home is on Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia (λύκος = wolf). The Greek origin is strongly emphasized here by the three Greek words. This point is emphasized by Casali VAT 37–8, for whom Evander is the type* of the Greek who tells the Romans about Rome, a Dionysius in relation to Virgil.

Parrhasio ... Lycaei: 'Called according to the Arcadian fashion (the place) of Lycaean Pan.' Parrhasia is part of Arcadia. **Panos:** Greek genitive. **de:** OLD 5a.

345. In this context **nec non et**, ('An emphatic formula of familiar style' – Fordyce on vii.521) will serve to introduce the two lines concluding the first section.

Argileti: *Argiletum* is the name of a street in Virgil's Rome; it came into the Forum from the north at a place more or less directly opposite to where Evander and Aeneas seem now to be standing. Its name evidently means 'clay-pit' (*argilla* 'clay' + the termination *-ētum* as in *olivētum* 'olive grove'). But it was given an alternative (aetiologically*) etymology *Argi-letum* 'the (violent) death of Argus'. Servius tells of Argus who was a guest (*hospes*) of Evander's; Evander's friends found out that he was plotting to murder Evander and supplant him, so they killed him themselves. Evander put up a memorial to him 'for the sake of hospitality'. **sacri:** (i) 'accursed' because of the murder (Gransden: cf. iii.57 *auri sacra fames* 'cursed greed for gold'); (ii) 'sacred' to hospitality (West). **nemus:** another contrast: for Virgil the Argiletum would have been noisy, urban and crowded. For the line ending with a word of four long syllables cf. 54, 341 *Pallanteum* and 167 *intertextam*; another *spondeiazon** (line with a fifth-foot spondee) is 402 (*electro*).

346. **testatur:** *testari* = 'to summon someone to speak in evidence.' The 'place' is personified* and invited to tell its story. **docet:** 'explains about' (OLD4a).

347. **Tarpeiam sedem:** No translator has made anything convincing out of *sedem*. It looks like a neutral word ‘place’ designed to move us on quickly to **Capitolia**, almost certainly because the two expressions refer to the same feature with a slight variation whereby the first name appears as an adj. and the second as a noun. Varro *LL* v.41, confirmed by DH iii.69.4, informs us that *Mons Tarpeius* was the old name for the whole hill; later *Tarpeius* was often confined to the southern height, the site of the Tarpeian Rock from which condemned criminals were hurled. Virgil passes over the story of the girl Tarpeia, for which see Livy i.11.5–9, March p. 367. *Capitolia* is plural for metrical convenience: *Capitolium* is difficult in hexameters.

348. **aurea:** The hill acquires the epithet from the appearance of the Temple of Jupiter in Virgil’s day. The ceiling there was gilded in 142 BCE, the roof tiles after the fire of 83 BCE when the building was reconstructed by Q. Lutatius Catulus. Catulus at that time earned some disapproval for ostentatious extravagance (Pliny *NH* i.33.18). It was restored again by Augustus (*RG* 20). **horrida:** appropriate in a literal sense ‘bristling’ for the briar bushes (**dumis**), the word also carries the idea ‘uncouth’ (OLD3).

349–50. **religio ... dira loci:** ‘the dreadful sense of a divine presence in the place’. The *e* of *religio* is short but the syllable is long by licence, cf. *reliquiae* 356. The fear of the country people is stressed: *pavidos, terrebat*, by implication *dira*, and then, after emphatic repetition of *iam tum, tremebant*. **silvam saxumque:** the *saxum* is the Tarpeian rock, whose future use (above, 347n.) makes for a sinister effect even in Evander’s time; the nouns together sound like a proverb, though none is acknowledged by Otto in his catalogue.

351. **frondoso vertice:** abl. of description* with **collem**.

352–4. What is the effect of putting the parenthesis ‘what god?’ before *habitat deus*? Is it to make it more definite that the occupant **is** a god? Note the hyperbaton* and enjambment* stressing **ipsam Iovem**. They have seen him in visible presence. **cum saepe:** ‘as often when’. **nigraentem:**

because the aegis is the colour of a storm cloud. **aegida**: Gk. acc. of *aegis*. *Aegis* means ‘hurricane’, and it is appropriately the weapon (along with the thunderbolt) of the sky-god Jupiter. It also means ‘goatskin’. Greek literary and visual imagination made something of these two meanings and the function of the thing itself. Jupiter often lent the weapon to his favourite daughter Athena (Pallas, Minerva), and there are many illustrations of this. The aegis which Athena carries takes the form of a sort of stole around her shoulders, usually with fringes formed by snakes and in the centre the head of the Gorgon Medusa: merely to brandish it in front of an enemy causes panic and death. (©Cdm Paris 254) See Horace *Odes* i.2.1–4 for a similar dramatic presentation. But literal appearance is less important here than the effect of dread: it is the storm-weapon of the sky-god.

355–6. Literally, ‘You can see these two towns ... the remnants of men of old.’ But with *vides* postponed to the second line, it comes out as ‘In these two towns you can see the remnants ...’ *Haec duo oppida* and *reliquias ... virorum* are in a sort of apposition. *Reliquias* and *monumenta* are a hendiadys*: ‘remains which are reminders’, ‘surviving memorials’. **disiectis ... saxis**: Evander points, from where he is standing in pastoral Rome (361–2), to ruined relics of a golden age. The scene is intriguingly similar to Claude’s pastoral landscapes, in which the ruins are those of a later Rome (© ruins in Claude paintings); see p. 62. The similarity encourages the thought that this is Virgil’s version of Kipling’s *Recessional*: ‘And all our pomp of yesterday/Is one with Nineveh and Tyre’ (cf. *res Romanae perituraque regna* G.ii.498).

357–8. Augustine (*City of God* vii.4) records from Varro’s huge lost work *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* the story that Janus was king when Saturn arrived in flight from Jupiter. Janus welcomed Saturn and shared the kingdom, so that they founded separate cities, Janiculum and Saturnia. ‘Saturnia’ was an old name for the Capitol (Varro *LL* v.42), while for Virgil’s contemporaries ‘Janiculum’ would naturally refer to the hill across the Tiber. But it is odd that **huic** should refer to the further hill, **illi** to the nearer one.

fuerat: the pluperf. is sometimes used loosely to refer to events two stages back (here ‘before they were ruined’), cf. vii.532.

359. **talibus dictis:** ‘to the accompaniment of such words’ (abl. of attendant circumstances* NLG 221).

360. **pauperis Euandri:** almost all translators transfer the epithet ‘poor’ to the house, but this is to be tactful rather than accurate. The senate was ‘impoverished’ in 105; so is its king here.

361. **Romano:** the adj. distinguishes the Forum from the various other *fora* (*Boarium*, *Holitorium*, etc.) and gives it grandeur in order to emphasize the paradox of seeing cattle grazing there. According to Richardson (s.v. ‘Forum’) this passage is the first recorded use of the term *Forum Romanum* as opposed to plain *Forum*. In a reversal of history, during the Middle Ages the area became known as *Campo Vaccino* ‘cattle field’. **lautis:** a very unpoetic word meaning ‘prosperous and chic’. *Carinae* (‘The Keels’) refers to the hill slope to the north above the eastern end of the Forum, a fashionable place in Virgil’s time. Pompey the Great had a magnificent house there; Mark Antony took it for himself.

362–3. **ut ventum (est):** impersonal passive (GL208.2; NLG 138). **victor Alcides:** a significant enjambment*. ‘Hercules at his moment of triumph’ was prepared to cross this threshold. The idea is then emphasized by the irony in **haec ... cepit:** ‘This was the palace which welcomed him.’

364–5. **aude:** ‘have the moral courage’. **te quoque ... deo:** ‘shape yourself also (so as to be) worthy of a god’. Seneca quotes the phrase and comments *nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes contempsit* (Letter xii.18). ‘No one is *deo dignus* except for one who has shown contempt for wealth.’ (i) ‘You also’ implies ‘you as well as Hercules’; Hercules was ‘worthy of god’ in being worthy to become a god’. (ii) *Deo* refers to Hercules himself, so ‘Make yourself (a guest) worthy (as a successor) of H.’ But then ‘Yourself also’ is odd: you and whom? Hardly Evander! We could perhaps think of *quoque* as emphasizing its sentence, not just *te*. ‘Despise wealth, and in addition make yourself worthy’: it is almost

a hendiadys*: the two actions, despising wealth and becoming worthy, are the same. **rebus**: dat., closely with **asper** ‘hostile towards poverty’.

366. **fastigia**: *fastigium* refers to the peak of the gable or pediment at the front of a house, and stands for the roof as a whole. The plural is for metrical convenience (cf. *Capitolia* 347).

367. **ingentem Aenean** with its elision* and heavy spondees contrasts with *angusti*. The same phrase provides a similar implicit contrast when Aeneas boards Charon’s boat at vi.413.

368. **effultum** is proleptic*: ‘he placed him (so that he was) resting on... . **Libystidis**: a very recondite adj. for ‘African’, found only once elsewhere, at Apollonius iv.1753; and indeed, according to Pliny (*NH* viii.228), there were no bears in Africa.

369. Epiphonema* to the whole passage 306–68.

370–453. Venus uses her charms to persuade her husband Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas. He is so persuaded, and after a night of love he travels to his forge under the Aeolian Islands, where the arms are made by his team of Cyclops-smiths. Virgil has exploited two separate scenes from Homer: most obviously *Il.*xviii.428–61, where Thetis persuades Hephaestus to make arms for Achilles, but also *Il.*xiv.159–350, where Hera, with Aphrodite’s assistance, exploits her own erotic charms in order to distract Zeus from promoting battle, in which he is determined to favour Trojans over Achaeans. Virgil also cleverly adapts a passage of Lucretius (i.31–40), a love scene between Venus and Mars.

370. **At Venus**: The brief description of night in 369 has made way for a complete change of characters and scene. From the world of human characters faced with difficult moral and material problems and few resources, we move to a fantasy realm of gods and golden dwellings. **haud nequiquam**: litotes*, ‘with very good reason’. **mater**: ‘as any mother (would be)’.

371. **duro ... tumultu**: ‘intractable violence’ – Turnus does not want a resolution.

372. **aureo**: two syllables; *-eo* is run together in synizesis*; contrast *aurea* with three syllables in 324.

373. **dictis**: dative. 'Into her words she breathes immortal love.'

374–86: Venus's address to Vulcan. The reader has already seen Venus's capacity for artful negotiation in iv.105–14, where she pretends to go along with Juno's schemes, and in x.17–62 she will appear making a full-blown political speech. In this domestic scene her arguments are still carefully crafted. (i) 374–80: 'I haven't asked you for anything before now: it would have been wrong and useless.' Venus lays much stress on her virtuous self-restraint. (ii) 381–6: 'Now it is permissible and I make my request for arms.' Into 382–3 she packs three different arguments: she claims the rights of a suppliant (cf. 144–5 above) and of a mother; she flatters Vulcan. 383–4 are an argument from precedent: 'You did it before.' 385–6 implies 'Now or never'.

374. If **Pergama** (cf. 37) is synecdoche* for 'the land of Troy', **vastabant** means 'were laying waste'; if it means *arx Troiana*, understand 'were trying to lay waste'.

375. **debita**: Troy was 'owed' to the Greeks as compensation for the rape of Helen. Of the two phrases which are obj. of *vastabant*, one ends *debita*, stressed by enjambment* and position, the next begins **casuras** ('were (anyway) going to fall'), stressed by position. Venus is making her 'wrong and useless' point. **ignibus**: instrumental* abl. 'in flames kindled by enemies' (OLD 10).

376. **non ullum**: a very emphatic negative, expanded from *nullum*, stressed by position, and then repeated (anaphora*) in *non*. **miseris**: understand 'although, poor Trojans, I could well have done'.

377–8. **artis opisque tuae**: 'arms produced by your skill and resources'; the gen. is not very far from a possessive genitive: 'arms which belong to your craft'; Fordyce compares i.600 *grates persolvere dignas/non opis est nostrae*: 'it does not come within my resources to pay the thanks you deserve'. **te exercere** and **tuos labores exercere** are indistinguishable in meaning. Venus is stressing her thoughtfulness as a wife.

379. **deberem plurima natis**: commentators can only find *one* service done for Venus by *one* son of Priam, that is Paris's judgement in her favour (e.g. March p. 299). As Servius puts it, she uses the plural to cover the awkward truth that this judgement had led to the Trojan war. **deberem, flevissem**: the difference between *quamquam* + indic. and *quamvis* + subj. is nearly given by the difference between 'although' and 'even though' (GL605–6; NLG 309 is a little misleading).

380. The repetition **labores** (378), **laborem** (380) is agreed to be insignificant.

381. **nunc**: the word means both 'now' and 'as things are', that is both time and circumstances have changed. **Iovis imperiis** marks the change of circumstances from 375. **oris**: abl. of place where*; for the meaning see 51n.

382. **eadem**: 'I the same person' – but doing different things, that is making demands where I did not before. The pronoun marks the contrast. Cf. 290.

382–3. **sanctum ... rogo**: 'I am asking a divinity which is sacred to me for weapons.' To refer to Vulcan as *sanctum numen* is flattering. One of the characteristics of Hephaestus/Vulcan as a god is that there is something commonplace about him as a manual worker. (See the way he is treated in *Il* i.568–600.) *Numen* is from the same root as *adnuo* 'agree to something'; the word implies Vulcan's authority to grant Venus's request. **sanctum mihi numen** makes an unusual rhythm, with the accent* conspicuously not falling on the first syllable of the fifth foot. It conveys the idea which Venus is anxious to stress: her particular devotion to him. **genetrix nato**: 'as a mother (asking) on behalf of her son'.

383–4. Occasions when Vulcan has given in to goddesses: (i) Thetis was Achilles's mother. Achilles's armour was lost when Patroclus, who was wearing it, was killed by Hector. In *Il*.xviii Hephaestus makes a new set: the description of the shield there is the model for the description of Aeneas's shield in 626–728. (ii) 'Tithonus's wife' was Aurora, the Dawn. Their son

was Memnon, king of Ethiopia, who came to the help of the Trojans wearing armour specially made by Hephaestus, but was killed by Achilles (March p. 251). **Nerei**: scan as two long syllables (synizesis* of -ei).

385–6. **qui** is adjectival with **populi**, (as **quae** with **moenia**) in indirect question: ‘Look what nations are gathering...’ **moenia** (city-walls) is metonymy* for the inhabitants; but there is something sinister and faceless about the idea. **in** is used slightly differently with **me** (‘against me’) and with **excidium** (‘aiming at the destruction ...’): a small syllepsis*.

387–90. The framing hyperbaton* **niveis lacertis** enhances the effect of **hinc atque hinc** ‘on this side and that’, introducing the idea in **amplexu**. The two adjectives **niveis** and **molli**, coming early and late, emphasize visual and tactile quality: it is all summed up in action: **fovet**. How can it be that Vulcan is ‘slow to respond’ (**cunctantem**) as indeed he is: note the spondees and ictus/accent* clash in 388? Because it will mean hard work? Because he will have to set aside some important commissions (439)? Or just because he knows his Venus: she is artful (393) and not altogether to be trusted (see the famous story of her affair with Ares/Mars in *Odyssey* viii.266–366)? The suddenness of his surrender comes out in the enjambment* **repente accepit**, with the change of tense to perfect. That it always happens like this is demonstrated by **solitam flammam** repeated in **notus calor**. The effect is both deep inside (**medullas**), all over him (**per ossa**) and overwhelming (**labefacta**). Note the rhythm of 390: the sense-break after *calor* brings us up with a jolt as we expect to continue to a third-foot caesura*, which is effectively denied by the close connection of *et* and the following word.

391–2. **non secus**: cf. 243. **olim**: ‘at some time’ (OLD4): the usage without definite reference to past or future is a feature of similes*, such as this. **tonitru ... nimbos**: ‘when a fiery rift, bursting out with a clap of thunder, runs glittering with flashing light through the storm clouds’. *Rima* is a narrow opening. The suggestion is that the heat of lightning is generated within a cloud and then bursts the cloud open to become visible. (Virgil seems here to be following Lucretius vi.269–84.) **corusco**

must qualify **lumine**, which on its own sounds lame and unspecific. But the reader's first instinct is take it with **tonitru**. This word could stand on its own (abl. of attendant circumstances* – NLG 221, GL399), but *coruscus*, though normally visual: 'glittering', 'quivering', could perhaps mean 'rumbling' by extension, which would allow us to take it separately with both nouns.

393. **sensit**: she understood (that she had succeeded). **laeta dolis, formae conscia**: a neat chiasmus. Venus's twin talents are her cunning and her beauty. *Dolis* is causal* abl.; *formae* objective* gen. (GL §363, NLG 200). *Conscia* means a little more than just 'aware': 'proudly aware' (often 'guiltily aware') (OLD3).

394. **pater**: this is purely a term of respect here, and has nothing to do with paternity on Vulcan's part. (His only son known to us at this stage is Cacus!) **devinctus**: she has won. He is enslaved. This line reworks Lucretius i.34, also from a scene of love between Mars and Venus: Mars *in gremium ... saepe tuum se/reicit aeterno devinctus vulnere amoris*. If the MSS are correct, Virgil prefers *devinctus* to Lucretius's *devictus*. The conclusion of Lucretius's scene is another favour: Venus is to pray Mars to grant Rome peace.

395. **ex alto**: 'from of old', cf. G.iv.285 *altius*: 'more remotely'. **fiducia ... mei**: 'where has your trust in me gone away to?' *Mei* is objective* gen.

397. **tum quoque**: that is, during the Trojan war. Venus had been on the Trojan side. **fuisset ... fuisset**: in the repetition (rarish as such repetitions are) we may hear Vulcan suggesting that he is speaking the plain and simple truth (cf. Fordyce's note). Gransden points out that Vulcan's speech is structured to reflect Venus's: hers balances *dum* (374) with *nunc* (381), his *tum* (394) with *et nunc* (400).

399. The long phrase **decem ... annos** (balancing, in the line, against the single word **stare**) emphasizes the number: 'for another ten whole years'. Nothing in the Iliad suggests that such a delay in the fulfilment of Fate was on the cards, so this looks like bluster on the part of Vulcan. Servius speaks of a certain Tages, who wrote a book on *Soothsaying and the*

Sacred Lore of the Underworld, as having said that Fate was postponable by ten years, and Juno in vii.314 is fighting to achieve a delay, but these references are not to the point here.

400. **mens:** ‘intention.’ With four words in the last two feet there is an interesting rhythm, which is not quite glossed over by the fact that both *tibi* and *est* are virtually enclitic (i.e. they are so closely bound to the preceding word that with it they form one). Vulcan is a little breathless.

401–4. ‘Whatever I can offer (which falls) within my skill, (anything) which can be made with iron or flowing electrum, all that fires and blasts of wind can achieve – stop showing, by begging me, that you have no confidence in your own powers.’ **quidquid**, **quod** and **quantum** introduce, in careful variation, the elements of a powerful tricolon. (*Quod* could be taken as referring back to *quidquid*, but this spoils the rhetoric.) At the end of this sequence, standard syntax might expect ‘... I will make it for you, and there is no need for you ...’ Vulcan abandons the expected main verb and continues with a new sentence (‘anacoluthon’*), showing the intensity of the effect Venus has had on him. **electro:** electrum is originally amber, but the word was used also, because of its similar colour, for an alloy of silver and gold; in 624 we see that Vulcan has used the metal. **animae:** the wind created by the bellows of the furnace. **indubitare:** ‘to show lack of confidence in.’ The compound is not found earlier; DServius thought Virgil coined it for the occasion.

405. Vulcan gave Venus the embrace which *he* longed for. **coniugis ... gremio:** ‘relaxing into his wife’s lap’ contains a metaphorical* translation of *infundo* (OLD5) and a literal one of *gremium*. But *gremium* is a regular metaphor* in poetry for ‘female genitals’ (OLD3); this combined with a literal version of *infundo* ‘pour’ gives a vivid description of sexual intercourse. **placidum ... soporem:** West translates ‘he sought and found peace and repose for all his limbs.’ ‘And found,’ ‘all’ are not in the Latin, but the run of the verse can support them: the long hyperbaton *placidam ... quietem* makes the rest that much more restful when it is reached. As for Vulcan’s limbs, they were undermined in 390 and they need rest now.

407–53. Vulcan gets up in the middle of the night and goes to his forge under Etna to make arms for Aeneas. (See Intro pp. 42–3 for a comparison of Aeneas's armour with Achilles's.)

Vulcan's chief smiths are Cyclopes, whose presence in epic goes back to *Odyssey* ix, where Odysseus and his men escape from imprisonment and being eaten alive by blinding the giant and riding away under his sheep. The Cyclopes make two appearances in the *Aeneid*, here and in iii.613–81. In iii we find an Odyssean giant with his fellows; cowering away from them is a stranded member of Odysseus's crew. These Cyclopes are monstrous one-eyed shepherd-folk, lawless and confident in their own strength. Vulcan's metal-working Cyclopes are rather different. All they have in common with their predecessors is their huge strength and their residence in western Sicily.

In the forge the Cyclopes are busy making thunderbolts for Jupiter, a chariot for Mars and an aegis for Minerva. All these are set aside, and Aeneas's shield is manufactured in noisy and colourful surroundings.

407–13. This curious passage starts as if it were a time expression 'in the middle of the night'. In 408 it begins to turn into a simile*; this is finally confirmed in 414 *haud secus* 'just like this'. Vulcan's midnight energy is like that of a woman who has to work hard for her family. The energy is similar; the tasks themselves are absolutely dissimilar: the woman's spinning and weaving are a universe away from Vulcan's labours in his forge. But another contrast is plainly intended, between the woman's modest self-restraint and Venus getting what she wants by the unashamed exploitation of sexual favours.

There is a passage of comparably simple and mundane activity in 455–6 after Vulcan's labours are completed: Evander rising in the morning to the sound of birdsong. The framing seems deliberate.

407–8. 'And now when the first rest-time had driven drowsiness away at the midpoint of night's course as she was being hurried along ...' The scene is still Venus and Vulcan's bedroom; it changes with *cum femina primum* in 408. **prima quies**: modern studies of sleep suggest that in

pre-industrial societies it was normal to have two separate periods of sleep in a single night (A. Roger Ekirch (2005), *At Day's Close: Night In Times Past*, and cf. ii.268–9, Ov. *Met.*viii.83–4), often interrupted by a longish period of wakefulness and activity. Vulcan, like the weaving woman of 408–13, forgoes the second period. **medio ... curriculo**: ‘in the mid-course of night as it is being driven away’: a slightly illogical combination of two ideas (i) ‘at midnight’ (ii) from midnight on, night is thought of as being driven away from the sky in preparation for morning, so ‘after midnight’. **abactae**: the perf. part. bears the meaning of a (non-existent) pres. part. pass.: cf. 636 *magnis circensibus actis* ‘while the great circus games were being performed’.

408–10. **primum**: take this with **suscitat**. ‘When a woman first stirs up the ash’, that is begins to relight the fire. **cui impositum (est)**: ‘on whom (the obligation) has been set ...’ **tolerare**: ‘support’, ‘put up with’. **colo, Minerva**: instrumental* abl. ‘by means of the distaff and slender Minerva’. A distaff is a rod onto which is packed a quantity of unspun wool for turning into thread. *Minerva* is a metonymy* for weaving, of which she is the patron goddess (iii.284, vii.805; for a similar metonymy Prop. ii.9.5). **tenui**: possibly ‘fine’ (OLD2) but in the context more likely ‘humble, poor’ (OLD10), cf. Eng. ‘of slender means’.

410–12. **cinerem ... ignes**: hendiadys* for ‘fire slumbering beneath the ash’. **noctem**: that is the whole time of the ‘second sleep’. She ‘adds night to the (time available for) work’, that is increasing the amount of work, an idea further brought out by **longo ... pēnso** with its long syllables and its enjambment*. *pensum* is the amount of work required over a specific time, a daily stint.

412–13. **castum** is predicative: ‘so that she can keep her husband’s bed unstained’. *Castus* can refer to a wider range of good qualities than simply sexual restraint (OLD2,3), so that here the idea can be ‘so that she does not need to resort to any humiliating or (socially) unacceptable methods.’ This seems a characteristically Roman household: poor, hard-working and with a mistress of the house who concentrates on spinning and weaving, in fact very like that referred to in the famous

epitaph of Claudia (CIL 1² 1211, = [www.thelatinlibrary.com/epitaphs B52](http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/epitaphs/B52)). ‘She loved her husband wholeheartedly, she had two sons ... she spoke sweetly, she walked properly. She kept the house. She made wool.’

414. **haud secus** here concludes the simile; in 243 *non secus* introduced it. **ignipotens**: ‘the fire-lord’, an honorific compound epithet of the type much used by Homer; this one is not Homeric and is probably Virgil’s invention, used five times in this book. **nec tempore senior illo**: if we want to expand this compressed syntax, we shall translate (e.g.) ‘no less hard-working (than she, and no later at night) than that time.’ The alternative is to take *tempore illo* as ‘at that time’, still understanding *illā* (‘than she’), which is easier syntax but less expressive in meaning.

The points of comparison in the simile are two: the resolute nature of both characters, Vulcan and the housewife, and the time they get up. Another point comes out clearly: it is one of dissimilarity between, on the one hand, Vulcan’s work prompted by Venus and her seduction of him, and on the other hand, the housewife’s work prompted by her concern for her own character and the welfare of her children. Eden compares three similes from Greek epic: (i) *Iliad* xii.433–6, where a stalemate in the fighting is compared to the perfect balance achieved by a woman weighing out wool – to achieve a livelihood for her children; (ii) Apollonius iii.291–7, where a fire kindled to a blaze at midnight by a woman needing light for her spinning is compared to Medea’s heart kindled by Jason; (iii) Apollonius iv.1062–7, where the anguished tears of a widow, surrounded by her whimpering babies as she struggles at midnight to earn a living, are compared to Medea’s love-prompted wakefulness and weeping. Devotion and toil are present in all three, night and fire also in Apollonius’s two; Virgil has them all, and in addition has made his housewife a woman of some standing (she has servants) and with a sense of duty not limited to her children. This lends support to Gransden’s suggestion that the passage ‘reflects the importance attached by Augustus to his moral and matrimonial legislation’. This was a programme promoted by Augustus since the early 20s, though it was not given statutory shape

until 17 BCE. (On which see Susan Treggiari in *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* 130–47, Barbara Levick *Augustus, Image and Substance* 129–32.)

415. The line clearly brings out the contrast between a five-star luxury bedroom and a large-scale iron foundry in full swing, as Servius notices. **ad** combines the idea of ‘movement towards’ and ‘purpose’.

416–17. **insula ... erigitur ... ardua**: ‘an island rises sheer and high (out of the sea)’. This type of apparently abrupt change in subject is a standard way of beginning an ecphrasis*, a discursive passage of description; similar is vii.562 *est locus Italiae medio...* We discover the name of the island only at the end of the passage: Volcania (422); *insula* and *Volcania* frame the passage. It is the island currently called Vulcano, southernmost of the group called ‘Aeolian Islands’ off the north coast of Sicily. The northernmost, Stromboli, accommodates the most active and conspicuous volcano. On Vulcano there is a very distinct hill with a crater. In antiquity this had already become mostly inactive apart from its ‘smoking rocks’, and any volcanic activity there was thought to come under the sea from Etna (*Aetna* 440 and 445–6, a poem once attributed to Virgil). It is close (**iuxta**) to the shore of Sicily to the south and to Lipara in the north, which is called ‘Aeolian’ because it was thought to be the home of Aeolus, lord of the winds (see i.50–63). Translate **fumantibus saxis** with *ardua*. **Aeoliamque**: a five-syllable ending is not uncommon with Greek names (see note on 54)

418–19. **quam subter specus**: It is difficult to decide whether to read this as a sentence in itself ‘Under it there is a cave’ or to take *specus* and *antra Aetnaea* as subjects of *tonant*. Perhaps the former is preferable, because *specus et ... antra* sounds repetitive, while *specus (est)* can be a low-key start amplified by the following dramatic explanation. See note on 422. **Cyclopum exesa caminis**: (i) ‘scooped out to serve as furnaces’ (*caminis* dat. of ‘object for which’* (GL356n.2)); (ii) ‘eaten away by the furnaces’ (*caminis* abl. of instrument*). (i) involves a strained extension of an anyway prosaic usage, while (ii) clarifies the metaphor* *exesa*: fire is *edax* (greedy) in ii.758. Note the a/a and c/c alliteration* in the two

phrases of this sentence. **Aetnaea**: as the author of *Aetna* suggests (note on 416–17), Vulcania is an offshoot of Etna.

419–20. **ictus auditi**: there is no particular person to do the listening, so one may translate ‘the sound of blows on anvils.’ **incudibus** with **ictus**: an abl. of place* depending on a noun is rare (‘the forum at Rome’ would be *forum Romanum*), but cf. vii.269f. *plurima caelo monstra* ‘many portents in the heavens.’ **referunt gemitus**: ‘bring back (as echoes)’ that is you first hear the sound and then the echo, which sounds like a *gemitus*. This word is used of inanimate sounds, for example, in iii.555 *gemitum pelagi* refers to the sound of waves thundering on rocks.

420–1. **striduntque cavernis stricturae Chalybum**: *strictura* is a technical term of metallurgy; to judge from Varro as quoted in Servius on x.74 it refers to iron ore as converted into a lump of metal – pig-iron, in fact. *stridunt* must refer to the sound of water steaming on hot metal as it is cooled (cf. 450f.). The Chalybes were a people to whom legend assigned the origin of iron-making; they appear in history as mostly ironworkers in Xenophon, *Anab.* v.5.1. Here (unless *stricturae Chalybum* is simply a periphrasis* for pig-iron) they seem to be subordinates of the Cyclopes, doing the preliminary and dirty work, and serving to make the cave even more of a hive of activity. As for *cavernis*, all editors and translators have treated it as a synonym for *antrum* or *specus*. So as not to be rather flat and repetitious it has then to be translated ‘**throughout** the cave’ (pl. for sing). But as a word *caverna* does not seem to refer to a large cave at all. It is more nearly ‘hole’ or ‘hollow’, a prosaic word (unlike ‘cavern’) used 35 times by Pliny the Elder for, among other things, a mouse’s hole, a dental cavity and a hyena’s anus used as a charm. It is also used for a small hole dug into the ground for planting parsley and leeks (*NH* xix.120). With this as an analogy it could very well be a term (perhaps as technical as *strictura*) for the hollows in the sand (‘moulds’) used to contain liquid iron in the formation of ‘pigs’. (Those in favour of this view will be invited to accommodate ii.19 and viii.242.)

Note here too a pair of phrases alliterated, but differently from 419 to 420.

fornacibus, like **cavernis**, is abl. of place* without preposition.

anhelat: used originally for the panting or gasping of a living creature under stress (e.g. Catullus 63.31); here it is a vivid metaphor* for the blast of hot air emitted by a furnace.

422. This line could, in sense, easily follow straight on from 417. The lines between, that is the relative clause beginning *quam subter*, contain five present indicatives (if you include *est* understood in 418) connected by four words meaning 'and' ('polysyndeton*'), a structure clearly intended to convey the one-thing-on-top-of-another character of Vulcan's forge. 422 sums it all up with his repeated name. ('It is Vulcan's house, and the land is 'Vulcan's in name.') The metre is interesting, with a diaeresis* after the second foot immediately denied by *et*, which carries us straight on, obliterating a possible caesura* in the third foot. Yet when we look at the line again, it seems a perfectly balanced one, each half beginning with Vulcan's name. If Virgil had written *est* instead of *et*, he would have achieved that effect: clearly he did not want to.

423. **hoc** here = *huc*. In the first-century BCE *huc* was gradually displacing the older *hoc*; it has done so everywhere else in Virgil, but Servius twice (here and on i.4) insists that *hoc* should be read here, and he is supported by the grammarian Priscian.

424. **exercebant**: the Cyclopes are 'putting iron to work' in that they take the smelted metal and put it into a form where it can do work. But there is also the idea, almost a personification* of the metal, that they are putting it through its paces (cf. 413). The many spondees can indicate 'heavy work'; the clash of ictus and accent* 'difficult work'; the effect is different in 452.

425. The first two Cyclops-names are Greek nouns associated with their work on thunderbolts: Brontes 'the thunderer', Steropes 'the lightning-flasher'. In Hesiod (*Theogony* 140) these are the names of two of the three Cyclopes; the lengthened *-que* at the beginning of the second foot echoes Greek epic practice, indeed it is an exact quotation from Hesiod. Pyracmon's name ('Anvil-Fire') seems to be Virgil's invention.

nudus membra: ‘bare-limbed’, that is entirely naked, as craftsmen are illustrated on Greek pottery. *membra* is acc. of respect*; see 28–30n. The description applies to all three Cyclopes.

426. **informatum:** ‘roughly-shaped’. **his** is possessive* dat. (‘they held a *fulmen*’). **manibus** is abl., probably ‘in their hands’ (abl. of place*); but possibly it should be thought of with **informatum:** ‘shaped by their hands’ (instrumental*) (Fordyce).

427. **quae plurima:** understand ‘(one of the) very many, which ...’ **toto ... caelo:** ‘from all over the sky’. With *plurima*, *toto* emphasizes Jupiter’s tremendous power and activity. There may also be a reference in *toto* to a belief that there were sixteen divisions of the sky and that each division was associated with an individual god; *toto* would then stress Jupiter’s *universal* power (Eden).

429. **radios:** Most illustrations of a thunderbolt represent it as a metal bar, held by Jupiter in the middle, while either end is formed like a trident; each of the prongs is presumably one of these *radii*, of which Virgil suggests there are twelve as opposed to the graphic illustrator’s six. As the storm-god (cf. 352–4) Jupiter wields weapons of rain, cloud, fire and wind; each group of three shafts represents one of these (◉Louvre G204).

torti: *torqueo* ‘to twist, spin’ comes to mean ‘hurl violently’ from the spin given to a hunting spear by the thrower to improve accuracy.

430. Presumably three of fire and *another three* of wind.

431. The difference between the constituents of 429–30 and those of 430–1 is that the former are mere physical manifestations, the latter are the elements which make the weapon effective: fear, fury and and followingness. **sonitumque metumque:** hendiadys*; avoiding the syntactically repetitive ‘terrifying lightnings and fearful thunder’.

432. **flamisque sequacibus iras:** a dramatic Virgilian phrase. The plural *iras* suggests ‘outbursts of anger’. The abl. is descriptive* (‘quality’ GL400, NLG 224), ‘characterized by pursuing fires’ – the evil-doer may run away but Jupiter’s fire will get him.

433–4. **parte alia**, that is of the factory. **currumque rotasque volucres**: almost a hendiadys*, ‘a chariot with flying wheels’. **Marti ... instabant**: *insto* + acc. is very unusual, but intelligible as ‘they were hurrying (the work) on’ (cf. 454 *properat*). The repetition of **quibus** focuses our attention separately on **viros** and **urbes** in a way which a mere ‘and’ would not have done.

435–8. **aegida**: Greek acc. sing. On the aegis and its association with Pallas Athena, see 352–4n. **polibant** (here ‘finishing off’ rather than ‘polishing’) has as objects *aegida*, *angues* and *Gorgona* (Gk. acc.), though there is a slight lack of logic in that *angues* and *Gorgona* are in sense parallel to *squamis auroque* – all separate features of the aegis – rather than to *aegida*, the whole thing. **squamis auroque**: ‘golden scales’, another hendiadys*.

angues, Gorgona: The three monstrous Gorgons had hair which consisted of writhing intertwined (*conexos*) snakes, and a gaze which turned those who encountered it to stone. One of them, Medusa, was killed by the hero Perseus (he avoided looking directly at her by using his shield as a mirror). Her gaze remained effective even after death; Perseus cut her head off and made good use of it for some time before he gave it to Athena, who installed it on the aegis.

desecto ... collo could be abl. of description* with *Gorgona*, but that leaves **vertentem lumina** rather loosely attached. Best to take it as itself a rather loose abl. abs.* and understand the two ideas as parallel descriptions: ‘with rolling eyes and severed neck’.

439–41. **labores**: to be understood not as ‘efforts’ but as the actual results of those efforts: chariot, thunderbolt, aegis. The second half of the line thus repeats and also clarifies the first, for emphasis. The urgency of the sentence grows all the way to **arma acri facienda (sunt) viro**, where the dative is not ‘by a man’ (dative of agent*, as regularly with gerundives) but ‘for a man’. For *acer* OLD6 offers ‘vigorous, energetic, active, brave’. Part of the emphasis on *viro* lies in the fact that a man is being given priority over gods in the work-schedule. But with *arma* emphatically at

the beginning of the sentence and *viro* emphatically at the end, it seems that we are being reminded of the first line of the poem *arma virumque cano*. If the principal theme of the epic is the trials faced and overcome by Aeneas, the use of this phrase here will emphasize the point that the delivery of arms to the hero marks not merely his greatness but also the beginning of a new and fearful trial.

441. **nunc viribus usus (est):** *usus est* 'there is need for' with a dependent abl. as for *opus est*, which had become the normal expression by Virgil's time. *usus* here is metrically useful for its opening long syllable.

442. **omni ... magistra:** 'for all the craft which is your guide.'

443. **praecipitate moras** creates a metaphor* where the 'delays' are thought of as concrete obstacles; Vulcan's order is 'knock them all down flat'. (The same phrase at xii.699.)

nec plura effatus (est): The syntactical division after fifth-foot *effatus* makes a sharp break in what is usually a smooth ending to the line (see Intro. p. 59), perhaps reflecting the sharp break in the Cyclopes' work. With a momentary hesitation they smoothly start their new tasks over the enjambment* *illi ocius*. First-class training.

444. **ocius** imparts urgency (101 and 278).

445. **sortiti (sunt).** The frequent omission of auxiliary verbs in these lines is another indication of Vulcan's and the Cyclopes' haste. **fluit aes rivis:** For *rivus* conveying the idea of a great quantity of liquid, compare v.200 (sweat) and xi.668 (blood).

446. **chalybs** as a word for iron or steel derives from the Chalybes (420–1n.) but is an independent word, not simply a metonymy. Its use is confined to poetry. Possibly in this exalted context, where we have the epic metals gold and bronze being put to lavish use, it was desirable to call iron by a name giving it a somewhat more than everyday status. It is also given the distinction of the epic epithet *vulnificus*, old in style (Fordyce on vii.324), but itself possibly coined by Virgil.

447–9. **ingentem ... impediunt**: The Cyclopes begin to make the great shield. The lines stand out from their context partly thanks to a preponderance of nasal consonants *n* and *m* and the vowel *i*; certainly they are framed by words of this character. The length of phrases is at odds with the length of the lines. The first line is heavily spondaic. (*Scutum* would have made it more so, but the *scutum*, the legionary shield, is rectangular; Aeneas's is round.) **unum** is a pregnant word: 'sufficient all on its own'. The enjambment* given by preposition (*contra*) at line-end governing a word in the next line is not unparalleled (iii.682 and v.124) but it is striking. **Latinorum**: Words of this rhythmic pattern placed here in the line occur on five other occasions in viii, but not elsewhere at phrase-end; the accent* -*órum*, clashing with the ictus, creates a strained effect just before the caesura*. Finally there is the imaginative clause **septenos ... impediunt**: 'with circles they block the seven circles', that is 'they fix one circle upon another until the seventh'. The *orbes* are the different layers of the epic shield: Ajax in the Iliad has eight, Achilles five. Turnus, like Aeneas, has seven (xii.925). There was a variety of materials in the manufacture of the Iliadic shields: for Ajax, seven of hide and one of bronze, for Achilles, five of three different metals. Presumably Aeneas's, being made in a forge, is similar to Achilles's. *Impediunt* conveys 'constrain', 'block'. The Cyclopes 'block' each layer with another presumably in that each layer 'blocks' hostile weapons from reaching the one beneath it.

The phrase *orbibus orbes impediunt* has already appeared in v.584–5 with a totally different meaning. There it describes the complicated interweaving manoeuvres of Ascanius's young Trojans on horseback.

Lines 449–53 are quoted with minor alterations from G.iv.171–5. There they form a remarkable simile*: the varied activities of bees in maintaining the hive and making honey are like the Cyclopes making metal. It is unusual that Virgil has taken a simile from the Georgics and used it as narrative; for the opposite, narrative becoming simile, see G.iii.232–4 and A.xii.103–6.

449–50. **alii...alii:** It appears that there are many more Cyclopes than the three named in 425.

451. ‘The cave booms’ (cf. 420 *gemitus*) ‘from the anvils set up (within it)’. The crash of hammer on anvil sets up an echo/a vibration in the rock of the cave.

452. = G.iv.171. Ictus and accent* alternate on each syllable until the fifth foot. Very similar is the description of two bulls fighting over a heifer in G.iii.220: *illi alternantes magna vi proelia miscent*, the word *alternantes* making it clear how the poet hears the rhythm.

453. **in numerum:** ‘rhythmically’.

454–519. A striking change of scene from industrial Vulcania to peaceful, pastoral Pallanteum. See note on 407–13. Evander, with Pallas, visits Aeneas in his lodging, where along with Achates they discuss the situation. The outcome is that Aeneas will appeal for help to the neighbouring Etruscans, who will accept him as their leader. Evander will provide his own small contingent of 200 cavalry and send Pallas with them.

454. **properat:** the verb is predominantly intransitive, but can also, as here, mean ‘to hurry something along’. **pater ... Lemnius:** that is \ Vulcan. *pater* is an honorific title. Lemnos is a volcanic island in the northern Aegean. Hephaestus/Vulcan had a cult there; in mythology he was associated with the island because, when he was flung off Olympus in punishment for his attempts to help his mother Hera/Juno, he ‘was a whole day falling and landed half-dead in Lemnos, but was cared for there by the Sintians’ (Il.i.592–5). **oris:** see 51n.

455. **suscitat:** singular, following its nearest subject *lux*, though another (plural) subject follows in 456.

456. **matutini** establishes **cantus** as plural. Virgil could have written *matutinus*, but probably did not like the rhyme. See 407–13n. for this passage as a contrast to the hubbub of Vulcan’s forge and for the two domestic passages, here and there, as framing the forge-scene. ‘Under the eaves’ suggests that the birds are swallows or martins.

457–62. Evander gets up and dresses. These lines follow the pattern of Homeric dressing scenes (characteristically tunic-sword-cloak-shoes), of which there are at least six, three in *Il.x*: 21–4, 29–31, 131–5. A curious parallel is introduced in 461–2, where Evander has his dogs with him, as Telemachus does in *Od. ii.2*–11; both of them are on their way to an important meeting. Telemachus is very young, only just beginning to be a man; his dogs seem to be introduced to underline the fact that he has no humans to escort him. Evander on the other hand is very old (307 *obsitus aevo*, and 457 *senior*). For another aspect of this Homeric reference see 461n.

457. **inducitur artus**: *induco* = ‘draw on’, in this usage (OLD15) ‘draw (clothes on) to a person’, that is dress. **artus** is retained* acc. (cf. 28–30n).

458. **et...plantis**: ‘he puts Etruscan restraints around the soles of his feet’. *vincula* thus refers on its own to ‘shoes’ (cf. iv.518); but perhaps better to take *Tyrrhena vincla pedum* as an elaborate periphrasis* for ‘shoes’. According to DServius this is another aetiology*, referring to the special senatorial shoe which, he says, was Etruscan in origin. But, as Conington observed, Virgil’s emphasis is on Evander’s simplicity, so the point of *Tyrrhena* is better to be seen as a companion to his *Tegean* sword: Evander is a man between two worlds.

459. **lateri atque umeris** because the baldric goes over the *shoulder* and holds the sword at the *side*. **Tegeaeum**: Tegea is in Arcadia, so Evander’s sword comes from home.

460. ‘throwing-over-his-back (**retorquens**) a panther skin which was to hang down on the left’. **demissa** ‘hanging down’ is used proleptically*. **pantherae**: the only mention of a panther in Virgil. They were exotic and savage, but not as much as lions, as Evander seems to be a nearly-but-not-quite Hercules in 560–7.

461. **nec non et**, ‘and what is more’, calls attention, here with a touch of humour, to the next point in the narrative. **custodes**: it is not for another whole line that we discover that Evander’s bodyguard is a canine. (A correct but insensitive translation is ‘Two dogs went ahead

as guards ...') Nevertheless the point is a serious one: Evander presides over a poor kingdom (100) and he does not take advantage of his position. **limine ab alto**: a surprising expression after 366 (*angusti tecti*) and 455 (*humili tecto*). It is not a wholly satisfactory explanation that heroes' residences are conventionally lofty. (The scholar Markland suggested *arto* 'confined'.) See 545n. on consistency.

463–7. We also discover that Aeneas has been accommodated in a different structure from Evander, unexpectedly after 367–8. If Virgil is concerned with giving us a clear picture (but see notes on 585 and 594), it seems that Evander's establishment consisted of a number of different small buildings. For each of them Virgil may have been thinking of the most ancient building on the Palatine, the *casa Romuli*, a thatched hut kept constantly in good repair and believed to be an update of Romulus's residence (DH.i.79.11); it was near the top of the Scala Caci (Plutarch *Romulus* 20.4), therefore close to Augustus's house (see plan p. 161). The agglomeration of huts will be collectively the *aedes*, so that *mediis aedibus* (467–8) = not 'in the middle of the building' but 'half-way between the buildings.' (If a Roman audience would have thought of Augustus's house when hearing of Evander's, it is interesting to read of the self-conscious modesty of this house (Suetonius *Augustus* 71–2).)

463. **sedem et secreta**: residence and private affairs' – hendiadys* for 'private residence'.

464. **sermonum**: 126–365; **promissi muneris**: 171.

465. **se ... agebat**: 'was on the move' (vi.337). **nec minus ... matutinus**: 'no less early in the morning'. For the adj. acting as adv. compare G.iii.537f. *lupus ... nocturnus obambulat*: 'the wolf goes prowling at night'.

466. **Achates**: the most constantly present of all Aeneas's companions. He appears in six of the twelve books. He speaks only once, at i.582–5. He takes a small part in the action of xii. Other minor characters (Ilioneus, Mnestheus, Cloanthus, Sergestus) appear occasionally in order to perform a task, but none of them has any significant interaction with Aeneas. The most vivid of them, Nisus and Euryalus, have most of

a book to themselves, but Aeneas is not there. This contributes to the isolated character of Aeneas which has often been remarked on. See an interesting article by D.C. Feeney: 'The Taciturnity of Aeneas' (ORVA 167–90).

467–8. A characteristically structured couplet with phrases of successively greater length: one word, then two, then three, then four (five including *et*), with the stress falling on the first word of the last phrase: **licito** 'permissible'. It may be that serious business had been precluded by the religious requirements of the previous day's festival.

469. **haec**: understand *locutus est*. On unfinished lines, see the note on 41.

470–1. A formal and solemn opening to a long and important speech. **sospite**: *sospes* = 'safe and sound' in the face of specific dangers. **Teucrum ductor**: see on 513. **quo sospite**: abl. abs.* 'who (i.e. you) being safe'. The natural English translation, beginning a new sentence, 'So long as you are safe and well' loses the formality of the extended sentence. **res Troiae**: 'the Trojan state', cf. *res Romanae* G.ii.498, so a synonym (another contribution to formality) for **regna**.

472. The basic sentence **nobis** (possessive* dat.) **exiguae vires (sunt)** is spread out in order to emphasize *nobis*, and contrast 'us' with the other people introduced in 475. **pro**: 'in proportion to' ('beside' West). **nomine tanto**: that is Aeneas's, or that of Troy, cf. Pallas's reaction in 121.

473. **Tusco**: the adj. is a conventional one for the Tiber (G.i.499), but here gives the idea that Etruscan, that is foreign, territory starts on the further bank.

474. **Rutulul** (singular for plural): In 55 Tiberinus referred to the *Latini* as the constant enemies of Pallanteum. Geographical pedantry would make this seem likelier: the Latini created space in their *own* land for Aeneas which became Lavinium, and this lies *between* Pallanteum and Rutulian Ardea. But Virgil wanted in vii.45–6 to emphasize the peaceful state of Latium, and in any case he is vague about where exactly

Latinus's city was. **premit:** as object understand *nos*, or **murum** will do. **circumsonat armis:** 'raises the clang of arms around ...'

475–6. **ingentes populos:** that is the Etruscans. As with Carthage earlier in the poem, the power of the Etruscans is being projected several centuries back into the bronze age. They were in fact the dominant power in Italy for much of the eighth to fifth centuries BCE; their political power over Rome appears in the name Tarquin, held by two of the kings. In spite of traditional stories such as that of Porsenna (646–51) Virgil intends to give them a noble part in the history of Rome; their leader Tarchon proves a vigorous and impetuous character. **opulentaque regnis castra:** 'an army wealthy because of kingdoms (which supply it) – abl. of cause*, NLG219. 'An army with the wealth of kingdoms behind it.' **quam** is fem. agreeing with **salutem**. Think of *salutem* as coming before *quam*, and being in apposition to the sentence *sed tibi ... paro*: 'I am preparing for you an army ... – a salvation which luck is unexpectedly revealing.'

477. **fatis ... poscentibus:** Does Virgil expect us to remember the terms in which Anna suggested to Dido that divine favour had presented Aeneas to her as an ally (iv.45f.)? 'I think it was with the gods' favour and Juno's blessing that the Trojan ships held their course this way with the wind.'

479. **urbis Agyllinae:** the gen. is 'of definition'* or 'appositive'* cf. 231. 'The settlement called the city of Agylla.' Agylla is an ancient name for the city of Caere, modern Cerveteri, on a ridge a little way inland from the coast some 35 km west of Rome. In the heyday of Etruscan civilization (sixth to fifth centuries BCE) it was one of the most opulent centres, as the rich finds in its cemeteries have revealed. **Lydia ... gens:** the Etruscans claimed to have come originally from Lydia in what is now western Turkey, a claim generally accepted in antiquity, see for example ii.781f, where the Tiber, here *Tuscus amnis*, is *Lydius Thybris*.

481–2. It seems easiest to think of *tenuit* covering two verbal ideas: Mezentius *took* Agylla under his despotic authority and *held* it by brutal armed force.

483. **quid memorem?** ‘Why should I mention...?’ The phrase is used also at vi.601, there too to apologize for description of grisly tortures. Pretending to omit some point on which the speaker actually intends to lay emphasis is the figure *praeteritio**.

484. **ipsius**: the second *i* of *ipsius* (like that of *illius*) was originally long; it was shortened by the proximity of the short *u*. In Virgil most instances of *ipsius* and *illius* have short second *i*; long, as it is here, it seems to convey extra disgust.

485. **quin etiam** introduces a striking new point in confirmation of what has been said. There seems some characterization of Evander here: to begin with he suggests that he will not go into detail (483 *quid memorem*), but now, in disgust at the recollection, he cannot contain an outburst.

iungebat corpora: This is not an invention of Virgil’s: the practice was described by Cicero in the lost dialogue *Hortensius*, quoted by Augustine *Against Pelagius* 4.15: how Etruscan pirates treated their prisoners. (Not that this demonstrates its historical truth: atrocity stories are very often dubious.)

486. **manibus, manus; oribus, ora**: thus Virgil’s line does what Mezentius did. The combination **-que/atque** is rare and seems to amount to an emphatic AND (G.i.182).

487. **sanie, tabo**: there does not seem to be any significant difference between these; the duplication is for horror’s sake.

489–90. **fessi** usually suggests ‘weakened’ in some way (see OLD); here the idea must be ‘fed up’. Translators feel the need to expand: West: ‘reached the end of their endurance’; Douglas: ‘of this annoy and wae ... irkit’; and Fagles: ‘at the end of their rope’.

infanda furemtem: for this type of expression see on 248 *insueta rudentem*. With the pres. part. it ought to refer to something actually happening, so ‘while he was enacting his insane horrors they surrounded him in his house’ (**ipsumque domumque** hendiadys*).

Eden notes: both 489 and 490 are spondees wherever possible with much clash of ictus and accent*: ‘the slow menacing [march] of resolute demonstrators’.

492–3. Take **inter caedem** with **elapsus** (‘slipping away amid the bloodshed’) and **Rutulorum in agros** with **confugere**; the phrases interlock, perhaps expressing the confusion of the moment. Both **confugere** and **defendier** are historic infinitives (*defendier* is an old form of the pres. pass. infin. *defendi*). The historic infinitive simply gives the idea of the verb, allowing its temporal reference to come out of the context. Here it seems equivalent to a historic present; more commonly the infin. can be equated with an imperf. (see 215–16n.).

494. **omnis Etruria**: though king at Caere, Mezentius is presented as having been in some way lord of all Etruria. **furiis**: The word *furiae* is used 20 times by Virgil. Four of these refer to the avenging spirits known in Greek as *Poenae* or *Eumenides*. On other occasions it refers to behaviour by people or animals who have lost self-control. On at least one occasion it is used for reprehensible loss of control: i.41, where *furiae* lead Ajax to rape Cassandra. But from 219 we receive a positive view of *furiae*, in that the word is used of Hercules’s motivation in tracking down and killing Cacus. Apart from that we might have read *furiis iustis* as an oxymoron*. Even if it is not quite that, it is worth noting that Evander needs to use *iustis* in order to ensure Aeneas’s sympathy. It is quite important for the understanding of the *Aeneid* as a whole to make up one’s mind about this word, seeing that it refers to part of the emotion which prompts Aeneas to kill Turnus (xii.946). There is an interesting discussion of *furiae* and *furor* in Cairns: *Virgil’s Augustan Epic* (1989), 81–4.

495. **supplicium**: regularly used of punishment by death. **praesenti Marte**: ‘by immediate war’.

496. With the three successive pronouns **his ego te** Evander returns to the point he introduced in 475 with *tibi ego*; **milibus** picks up *ingentes populos* from the same line.

497. **toto ... condensae litore**: 'packed together all along the shore'. **namque** introduces an explanation of 496; to reach the point of this explanation it takes until 513, where it is rounded off by a reference to 496 in *ductorem* ('ring-composition*'). **fremunt ... puppes**: 'the ships are astir', the behaviour transferred to the ships from their occupants; cf. 385 'what fortified cities are sharpening their steel'.

498. **signa ferre**: Wherever the standard is carried, the troops will follow, so 'to march out to war' (OLD10b). **iubent**: subj. 'the people' (understood from *puppes*), obj. understood 'their leaders'. Latin often prefers an active infin. after *iubeo* and allows a subject to be understood rather than use the passive. Translate *iubeo* as 'bid', or 'tell' not 'order'. **haruspex** refers to an expert in the interpretation of animal sacrifices, especially with reference to the liver. It was an Etruscan discipline in origin. (R.M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and their Gods* (1969), p. 65).

499. **fata canens**: cf. 340 for *cano* used in prophesy. **Maeoniae**: Maeonia is an epic name (*Il.*ii.866, etc.) for Lydia. For Lydia and Etruria see 479n. **delecta iuventus**: used to describe the hunting party at Carthage in iv.130 and the conference of Trojan commanders in ix.225.

500. **flos veterum virtusque virum** 'flower and manliness of men of old' is a remarkable phrase. 'Ennian' says Servius, possibly referring to *Annales* frg 308V *flos delibatus populi*, 'plucked flower of the people' (cf. William Dunbar 'London, thou art the flour of cities all'). *Flos virtusque* is perhaps a hendiadys*: 'manly flower', with the hendiadys softening the mixed metaphor*. *Flos veterum virum* suggests 'the best of your ancestors', a vivid but illogical expression for 'better than all your ancestors' – a construction perhaps Greek in origin: Thucydides describes the Peloponnesian War as 'most remarkable of its predecessors' (and cf. Tac. *Agr.* 34, where the Caledonians are *ceterorum (Britannorum) fugacissimi*: 'quickest to run of all the other Britons'). West 'Flower of the chivalry of an ancient race'; Fagles: 'Fine flower of courage born of an ancient race.'

500–1. **iustus ... ira**: Note how the clauses are *parallel* with adj. at beginning and noun in hyperbaton* at end, and *contrasting*, with *iustus dolor* nom. and *merita ira* abl. The idea that *ira* can be *merita* is also one which may look forward to xii.946 (see 494n.), where *furiis* and *irā* appear together.

502–3. **nulli**: A single word spondee in the first foot is relatively rare and attracts attention. The structure of this speech is two and half lines of vocative appeal, one line to dissuade and half a line to persuade, a sort of tricolon* where emphasis comes not from length but from brevity. **externos ... duces**: This prophetic instruction parallels that given to Latinus in vii.98, *externi venient generi* ‘a son-in-law will come from abroad’ (the plural is ‘oracular’ (Conington)). Gransden on this line suggests that the insistence on ‘the leader coming from abroad’ looks forward to Augustus’s arrival in Rome from abroad in 29 BCE, but this seems a little strained. **tum**, unlike several other monosyllables, is elided* only once elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (7.36). The effect seems harsh but deliberate: again Virgil could have avoided it with *tum Tusca...*

504. **hoc ... campo**: Conington and Eden seem to interpret *hoc* from Evander’s point of view, that is at or near Pallanteum. This implies such an odd topography for the campaign that it is easier to take it as equivalent to *hic in campo*, ‘here (i.e. at Caere) on the plain’.

505–6. It is clear what is happening here, but the syntax is less so. **regni** seems to depend on **coronam**, but as a genitive goes most naturally with **insignia**, rather a long way away from it. **mandat** has two constructions following it: (i) the acc. obj. *insignia* and (ii) the indirect command (with the frequently occurring omission of *ut*: *impero hoc facias* ‘I command you to do this’) *succedam*. So ‘Tarchon sent to me a crown with a sceptre and entrusted (to me) the insignia of kingship, (bidding me) join his army and undertake the kingship of the Etruscans.’ **oratores**: ordinarily ‘speakers’, but here (OLD1) with more of the idea of *orare*: men appointed to make a request. The request begins in 507. **ipse** gives strong emphasis to **Tarchon**, the two words coming first and last in clause and line.

Tarchon, who appears on several later occasions as a dashing warrior, seems to have succeeded Mezentius as lord of Caere and all Etruria. He merits emphasis because his family's name, in the form Tarcna, is found in tomb inscriptions at Caere and is evidently the origin of the name of the Roman kings Tarquinius. The story of his help to Aeneas appears in the Greek poem *Alexandra* which goes under the name of Lycophron (see entry in OCD), possibly written about 180 BCE.

coronam cum sceptro: Dionysius refers (iii.61) to the insignia of the Etruscan kings as 'a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle perched on its head, a purple tunic decorated with gold, and an embroidered purple robe'. These, apart from the crown and the purple robe, were the insignia of the consuls at Rome. Virgil is presenting an aetiology*.

508–9. **senectus** is personified*. **tarda gelu:** 'sluggish with cold', but perhaps the opposite of a hendiadys* 'sluggish and chilly'. **saeclis effeta:** 'worn out with the passage of generations'. See 268n. for Evander's extreme old age. **seraeque (sunt) ad fortia vires:** 'my strength is past it for any bold deeds'. **serus** and its adverb **sero** carry the sense 'too late', cf. the proverb *sero sapiunt Phryges* 'Trojans are late learners' (Otto 278).

510. **exhortarer:** imperf. subj. in present unfulfilled condition, 'I would now be urging on my son ...' (GL597, NLG 304.1). **mixtus:** 'being blended (in race)'; the phrase is explained by **matre Sabella**, which one can think of as abl. abs.*: 'his mother being Sabine'. 'Evander's marriage to a Sabine prefigures the rape of the Sabine women (Livy i.3–17) and the union of peoples which arose out of that event' (Gransden). See 635–41n. 'Sabine' refers to the mountainous region east and north of Rome.

511–3. The basic sentence here consists of two emphatic words: **tu** and **ingredere**, each followed by a clause or phrase containing attributes of encouragement: Aeneas is young, he is of noble family, he is appointed by heaven, he will unite Trojans and Italians, he will be a mighty leader. Here is another prefiguring. Augustus, as Julius Caesar's adopted son,

was a member of the select group of Roman aristocrats who claimed descent from Troy. A little of Evander's elation appears in his describing Aeneas as 'leader of (both) Trojans and Italians'; at 470 it was only 'Trojans'. In 678 we see him 'leading the Italians into battle'. **fatum indulget**: MSS are divided between *fatum indulget* and *fata indulgent*. *Fatum* is the only occurrence of this word in the nom. sing. in Virgil; it is the reading of D Servius. **Teucrum** and **Italum** are gen. pl., cf *deum*.

514. **hunc**: Pallas is present at the conference (466); with this word Evander gestures towards him. **nostri**: genitive. Virgil could have written *nostra*; he possibly felt that *solacia nostra* sounds a little lightweight; *nostri* also makes the phrase more complex: with *spes* it is a possessive* genitive, with *solacia* it is objective* ('he who comforts me').

515–7. Tragic irony. Things will turn out entirely different from the well-ordered optimistic picture presented by Evander here. **sub te ... magistro**: 'under your direction'. **militiam, grave Martis opus**: identical ideas differently expressed for emphasis – theme and variation*. **te miretur**: Evander imagines the relationship between Pallas and Aeneas as being similar to that between himself and Anchises (152–68).

518–9. Pallas will be in command of two units, Evander's Horse and Pallas's Own. **robora**: 'the pick of'. In poetry the word is usually plural, no doubt for metrical convenience; here Virgil recalls Catullus 64.4 *lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis*.

520–53. Anxious deliberation is cut short by a sign from heaven. Aeneas is filled with a new resolve; preparations for war are made.

520–3. **vix ea fatus erat**: This expression occurs on three other occasions in the *Aeneid* (i.586, ii.692 and vi.190). It always precedes a sudden and striking event of a supernatural character. The event itself is introduced either by *cum inversum** (NLG288.2, GL581) or (ii.692 and here) by vivid parataxis* with a simple 'and' (*-que*). (The parataxis seems to be inherited from Ennius: cf. *Annales* frg.59V.) Here the effect is complex. The *-que* makes the reader think something startling is immediately going to take place. In fact it is held up until 523, and the two lines

521f. create a moment of strong suspense. The syntax is also elliptical. 'Aeneas and Achates were deep in anxious thought (*putabant*) [and would have continued so] if Venus had not'. This sort of ellipse* is not uncommon in Latin; cf. vi.358–361, where Palinurus describes his own death: *iam tuta tenebam, ni gens crudelis ... ferro invasisset* 'I had safety in my grasp [and would have attained it] if a cruel people had not gone for me with the sword'.

defixi: *defigo* means both 'to fix down' literally (G.ii.290: a sapling to the earth) and 'to concentrate' (Cic. *Phil.*7.5: one's thoughts on the national interest). Here 'concentrated (in thought), they kept their faces' seems to cover both ideas: we should understand *defixa* to agree with *ora*. Perhaps 'deep in thought and downcast' (see on 522). Why 'downcast' after Evander's encouragement with its rousing vocative *fortissime ductor*? A psychological explanation is possible: the prospect of a destructive war has suddenly become a fearful reality (compare the reaction of the women of Pallanteum in 556–7). The fate of Pallas can be casting its shadow forward. Aeneas has been assailed by doubt on previous occasions (i.208–9; v.700–3) and this is the last of them. But at the simple level of dramatic construction, a pause of silence before Venus's theatrical intervention is effective. Line 521 itself performs this function. It is not strictly necessary to the sense – without it, Evander and Pallas would also be engaged in anxious thought – but why should they not be? It is a conspicuous line, with its three names in alliteration*, including the majestic patronymic. **Achates:** see 466n.

522. **dura, tristi:** the adjectives give substance to the implication of *defixi*. **putabant:** *puto* is used quite often in the *Aeneid*, usually in the sense 'think (that something is the case)'. Only here and at vi.332 does it carry the meaning 'ponder'; in both instances it means 'ponder over unsettling truths'. We should perhaps also see something of the other meanings of the word: 'clear up, sort out, work out' (OLD1,2,4).

523. **ni:** (= *nisi*) see above, on 520–3. **Cytherea:** a title of Venus, from the island of Cythera, where she first came to land, having been born in the sea. **aperto:** thunder from a clear sky was an especial indication

of divine intervention (G.i.487). Trumpet blasts from heaven (526) as a sign of terrible things to come on earth occur at Tibullus ii.5.73f and Ovid *Met.* xv.782–4 (Caesar's death).

524–5. **improviso** is the adverb 'unexpectedly', cf. xii.576. **vibratus**: *vibro* can mean 'to set something shaking' (of the earth in Pliny *NH* ii.194) or 'to make a quavering sound' (of an elephant's trumpeting in Caesar *Bell.Afr.* 84.1) or 'to hurl' (of a spear in Ovid *Ep.* 3.125). All these ideas are present here: the intermittent flash of lightning, the rumble of thunder and the vivid notion of forked lightning as a weapon flung from heaven to earth. 'Suddenly a stab of lightning came shooting down from the sky along with its rumbling noise; it was as if everything was coming crashing down all at once'. **visa**: understand *sunt*. **repente**: 'all at once' OLD2, slightly different from *improviso*. Note the accelerating rhythm of these two lines from a spondaic beginning of 524 to the all-dactylic 525, and compare 390 for the effect of *et* in disturbing the rhythm of the line.

526. Understand the verb *visus est*. **Tyrrhenus**: transferred epithet* ('the blare of the Tyrrhenian trumpet'). Virgil avoids the rhyme *Tyrrhenae tubae*, and the hyperbaton* *Tyrrhenus ... clangor* holds the line together. The trumpet is firmly associated with Etruria in Greek literature too (Soph. *Ajax*. 17, etc.); 'it is an Etruscan invention' (Servius). The epithet seems to be there as part of the focus on Etruria which the story is now taking. **mūgire** is originally a cattle-noise. OLD offers an interesting range of disturbing sounds to which it can apply. **aethera** is Greek acc. sing.

527. The five *r*'s, two of them quite hard to enunciate as part of a double consonant, give the line onomatopoeic* effect.

528. It is hard to gain a clear picture of this miraculous event. *caeli in regione serena* seems to suggest that the rest of the sky, previously described by *aperto* (523), had (suddenly) become dark (and threatening, as one might conjure out of *ruere omnia* in 525). The expression *inter nubem* is odd. 'Typical Virgil' says Servius ('*more suo*'), explaining it as *per nubem*, that is perhaps like the miraculous mist which is dispelled

in i. 587 when Dido first sees Aeneas. Or perhaps it is a support for the arms to rest on, as Apollo sits on a cloud in ix. 640 (Fordyce, Eden, etc.). For the sound of clashing arms as a portent: G.i.474, Tibullus ii.5.73. By whom or how they are being struck is left to our imagination.

530. **obstipuerē** (= *-erunt*)*: ‘they were dumbfounded’. Possibly Evander is ‘terrified’ (Eden): the last word spoken has been ‘Pallas’ and Evander is full of fear for him; Aeneas’s cheerful response is thus a contrast of tragic irony. But when the word is used of Pallas in 121 the suggestion is simply ‘astonished’; if that is how we take it here, the contrast is different: confusion for the rest, clarity for Aeneas. **alii** is here equivalent to *ceteri* (cf. v. 834 and OLD *alius*² A3).

Aeneas displays here a confident determination which we have not seen before. It seems to be partly that the visit to the site of Rome, unaware as he is of its significance, has invigorated him. (See 310–13n.) Now he is on the Palatine, very close to the place where his descendant Augustus will live. Augustus’s own house was visited by the gods on the Palatine in the form of a lightning strike (as Venus has visited Aeneas now); this led him to dedicate on its site the temple of Apollo which we shall encounter on the Shield at 720–2 (Dio xlix.15.5). Evidently the numinous quality of the place (already visited by Hercules) inspires Aeneas.

This is an important point in the structure of the epic. The poem began with ‘arms and the man’. (See 439–41n.) Here the ‘arms’ appear, and with them Aeneas’s confidence that he is ‘the man’.

531. **promissa** (neut. pl. acc.): No promise has been mentioned in the text so far. But an educated member of Virgil’s audience/readership will know of the Homeric model, *Iliad* xviii, where Hephaestus makes arms for Achilles. These arms are promised to Achilles by his mother Thetis in *Il.* xviii 134f. But **sonitum et promissa** seems to be a hendiadys* (otherwise what does Aeneas recognize in the sound which his companions do not?): that is ‘recognized the sound as fulfilling his mother’s promise’.

It is a surprise to see Venus able to lay on, apparently on her own initiative, a portent involving thunder and lightning. When the first-century CE epic poet Valerius Flaccus presents her as preparing a deed of violence, the thunder which accompanies her (ii.199) is a gift from her father Jupiter.

533–4. Aeneas's words are very emphatic indeed, with the repetition of *ne* and its use effectively to connect the two adverbs *vero* and *profecto*, very similar as they are in meaning. *Profecto* is used here only in the *Aeneid*. (It has 'a lively colloquial flavour' (Eden)) **ne** + imperative: GL270 (cf. 29 *absiste*). **ferant**: possibly in the sense of *prae se ferre* 'put on show' (OLD9). **ego poscor**: again, very emphatic: *ego* dismisses *casum*; *poscor* dismisses *ferant*. **Olympo**: abl. of instrument*, as 12 *fatis*; this however seemed odd to ancient readers, as is shown by the various other possibilities mentioned by Servius: 'from Olympus', 'onto Olympus' (dat.), even 'take *Olympo* with 534 *cecinit*'.

534. **missuram**: rule-book Latin would expect *cecinit se missuram esse*. The omissions are not uncommon in the language of Plautus (c.190 BCE); Virgil's intended effect may be haste or a slightly old-fashioned solemnity.

535. **ingrueret**: 'became a threat'.

536. **laturam** (*esse*). **auxilio**: 'as a help', predicative* dative ('double dative') GL356, NLG 191. Venus's *auxilium* here picks up Evander's anxiety in 472 about what *auxilium* he could offer. Ring-composition again (Gransden). For the half-line see 41n.

537. **quantae**: Fordyce points out that in Virgil's time *quantus* 'how great' in the plural was in the process of taking over the meaning of *quot* 'how many'. (Propertius i. 5.10 *quanta milia*). Very likely Virgil meant us to consider both meanings here.

538. **poenas ... dabis**: *poena* is 'a penalty', but perhaps 'What a price you will pay!' His own life, in fact.

539 is an exact repetition of i.101, where Aeneas, his ships overwhelmed in a storm sent by Juno, laments ‘O Diomedes! could I not have fallen at your hands on the plains of Troy ... where (the river) Simois rolls beneath his waves so many heroes’ shields ...’ There the line expressed Aeneas’s despair, here a fierce optimism. The battles on the plains of Latium will reflect the battles at Troy, as the Sybil prophesied to Aeneas (vi.86ff.), but the result will be very different. And the function of Diomedes will also be very different (viii.9–17; xi.225–295 – See note on 9–14 and the Summary of Book xi, p. 26).

540. **poscant ... rumpant:** a striking chiasitic* sentence to conclude this passage, the more forceful for the strong break at the second-foot caesura*. **foedera:** we may think of the *foedus* offered by Latinus in vii.259–266 but then aborted through the operations of Juno and the Fury Allecto. The only formal breach of a treaty occurs in xii.190ff., where the rupture occurs during the ceremony sanctifying the treaty.

541. **haec ... dedit:** there was an abbreviated version of this standard formula at 175. **alto:** a lofty throne seems at odds with Evander’s humble circumstances, but this clash between epic grandeur and modest subject has occurred before, for example, at 461. *parvos* (543) restores the perspective.

542–3. ‘He rekindles the dormant altars with fires of Hercules...’ As Servius observed, there is a double hypallage* here: it is the fires which are dormant, and the altar is Hercules’s. Is the altar the *Ara Maxima*? No, it is agreed, because Aeneas is up on the Palatine, he does not descend until 546, and the ‘*lar* and humble gods’ must be those of Evander’s house. The altar must then be Evander’s domestic altar, which could well be dedicated to Hercules as a former visitor, though we have not been told (cf. on *promissa* 531).

543–4. ‘... and he joyfully approaches yesterday’s *lar* and the humble gods of the home.’ Yesterday’s *lar* “must mean” the *lar* to whom they had made offerings the previous day’, but it is a strangely elliptical* expression.

Efforts have been made to make the text of these two (and a bit) lines less troublesome:

- (a) Transpose *Herculeis* and *hesternum* (i.e. *et primum hesternis .../ Herculeumque larem ...* (Warde Fowler 93–5)). This makes 542–3 easier to understand, but is something of a drastic solution.
- (b) Read (with two of the chief ancient mss, M and R) *externumque larem* ‘the *lar* from overseas’. This reading was acknowledged, though dismissed, by Servius. If Eden were justified in his statement (on 542) ‘Hercules’s identification with (Evander’s) *lar* is proved by his frequent appearance with the *penates* in Pompeian wall-paintings’, the word *externum* would be explaining *Herculeis* in 542 and reiterating the point already made that salvation comes from outside (cf. esp. 503). But this point seems rather harshly obtruded into the passage here, and *excitat*, *externum* does not sound a likely Virgilian hexameter-opening.
- (c) For the bizarre suggestion *Herceis* (= Greek Ἑρκείαις) see Eden on 543.

544. **bidentes**: Already in the second-century CE there was doubt about the meaning of this term, to judge from the discussion in Gellius 16.6. The conclusion reached there (by reference to Julius Hyginus, a Virgil scholar nearly contemporary with the poet) was ‘a two-year-old sacrificial victim, two of whose eight teeth were longer than the rest’. (For confirmation of Hyginus’s observation, see James Rebanks *A Shepherd’s Life* (2015) p. 148.) The said victims seem more often to have been sheep than other animals. **de more**: ‘according to proper practice’ (cf. 344), that is after checking teeth and a search for imperfections.

545. It is proper for thanksgiving to be made after a divine revelation (see 66–79). The repetition of **pariter** perhaps deals with the reader’s feeling that Aeneas seems to be acting as master in Evander’s home. There is a puzzle with **Troiana iuventus**, which could as a term include the whole of Aeneas’s company, but his only companion overnight has been Achates. This, along with the abrupt change of subject back to

Aeneas in **graditur** and the difficulties discussed under 541–3, prompts the suggestion that this is an unrevised passage – or that Virgil is simply not always concerned with the level of descriptive consistency which we tend to demand.

546. **post** picks up **primum** from 542.

547–8. **qui ... legit**: ‘As his companions in war he chooses those outstanding in courage.’ **sequantur** is a subjunctive of purpose* following *qui*.

548–9. **prona** is stressed at line-end, **segnis** by place at the beginning of its clause, **secundo** nearly repeats *prono* and amplifies **segnis** by alliteration*; nearly the whole of 549 has the smooth effect of ictus coinciding with accent*. The homeward party is having an easy time of it.

550. **nuntia** is fem. of the adj., agreeing with *pars cetera*.

552. **exsortem**: horses were assigned to the group going to Caere by lot. But Aeneas’s horse, the best, was ‘not included in the allocation’ (OLD1). With the adj. understand *equum* as antecedent to *quem*.

553. **aureis**: the word would normally scan $\bar{~} \sim \bar{~}$; here $\bar{~} \bar{~}$ by synizesis*, cf 292. The lion’s head will cover the horse’s head – in the manner of Hercules’s lionskin, to which there is thus an allusion here. (©Louvre F204).

554. ‘The news quickly becomes public and goes flying round the little town ...’

555. The MSS are divided between **limina** and **litora**. The objection to *limina* is that Tarchon is not at home, so is not living behind *limina*; he is encamped on a plain (504) which is presumably not far from the shore (497). The objection to *litora* is that it is here pointless. On other occasions in the *Aeneid* where *litus/litora* appears with a possessive* genitive or adjective, ‘shores’ form a significant part of the meaning (v.24, vii.149 and xii.262). In favour of either: *limina* gets the king’s visitors straight to him, and his temporary accommodation may well

be substantial, like Achilles's establishment as described in *Iliad* xxiv; *litora* is where they need to be in order to embark on the sea journey to help the Trojans.

556–7. **propiusque periculo it timor**: either (i) *periculo* dat.: 'fear comes nearer to the danger' (i.e. the danger of war is always high, people fear it more the sooner it is likely to happen); (ii) *periculo* abl. of cause*, as with *metu*: 'fear moves nearer because of the danger'. (i) seems more naturally intelligible. **maior ... imago**: *imago* can mean the view of something real (x.456 *Turni ... imago*); something seen in a dream (iv.351ff. *Anchisae ... imago*); a false representation: (x.643 the false Aeneas created by Juno to lure Turnus away from battle). It is easy for readers (this one anyway) to think of the painting *El Coloso* attributed to Goya (◉ *El Coloso*, Wikipedia; the painting is in the Prado, Madrid).

558–84. Evander says farewell to his son. We are reminded (i) of Andromache's farewell to Hector (*Iliad* vi.390–502) where we know and Andromache feels that Hector will never return, just as is true of Pallas here; (ii) of Evander's Iliadic model Nestor, who at *Il* vii.133 and xi.670 begins two speeches of 28 and 90 lines in which he records his glorious achievements of old. Nestor's speeches characterize him as a good but garrulous old man, and this memory rubs off a little on Evander. But Evander's speech is full of pathos: distress at his own weakness in being unable to defend his own citizens (569–71) and unable to protect his own son on his first venture into war (568–9); and nearly half the speech is devoted to an intense prayer to the gods, both parts of which we suspect will be denied. Finally, and most movingly, Evander collapses as Pallas leaves: *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant*; we are strongly reminded of Dido's collapse after her last words to Aeneas, iv.391–2. For other recollections of Dido see 153n, 171n, 173n.

558. **euntis**: that is Pallas, as **pater** makes clear.

559. **haeret**: 'holds it fast'; see on 124. **inexpletus lacrimans**: 'weeping unstoppably'. The adverbial idea is more commonly given by the neut.,

and Servius offered *inexpletum* as the ‘soundest’ of three possibilities. But cf. v.764: *creber aspirans Auster*: ‘the south wind blowing steadily’.

560–71. These twelve lines form a very long period, especially in the light of Cicero *Or.* 222: ‘a period* should in general not be longer than four hexameters’ worth. It begins as if it were a wish (for *si* = *utinam* ‘if only’ cf. vi.187f. ‘if only that (golden) bough would show itself to me!’). It continues with Evander’s Nestor-like (see note on 558–84) recollections of youth until 568, and then, instead of stopping, proves to have been a conditional clause with a main clause which continues the sentence for another four lines. *Inexpletus* (559) is thus vividly illustrated. Virgil succeeds in characterizing Evander as an anxious old man and intensely loving father simultaneously.

561. **qualis eram**: understand ‘...(making me) such as I was’... . **Praeneste** usually neuter (vii.682), here fem. because of the idea of *urbe*. **P. sub ipsa**: ‘under the very walls of P.’

562. **stravi**, making an enjambment* with first/second-foot diaeresis*, emphasizes Evander’s pride. **scutorum ... acervos**: ‘heaps of shields,’ but the stress falls on *acervos* so perhaps trs. ‘... shields in heaps’. Shields were normally inflammable – made of leather on a wooden framework. Homeric warriors proudly profited from captured spoils (Hector at *Iliad* xvii.210 put on Achilles’s armour taken from Patroclus). Evander, in burning his spoils, adheres to a Roman tradition attributed to Tarquinius Priscus, fifth king of Rome (Livy i.37.5). **victor**: in apposition to understood *ego*: ‘as victor’, or trs. ‘in victory’.

563. **Erulum**: Erulus appears only here. **sub + acc.**: ‘down to’.

564–7. ‘... to whom at his birth his mother Feronia had given three lives, ... three sets of armour to wield – three times he had to be laid low in death, and yet from him at that time this hand took all his lives and stripped him as many times of his weapons.’ *cui* in 564 is indirect object, *cui* in 566 is ‘dative of separation*’ (NLG188 2(d); GL345 Rem 1). 564–6 are held together by the anaphora* *tres ... terna ... ter*. There is a change of construction (anacoluthon*) by which for the third element (*ter ...*)

the subj. changes from *mater* to Erulus himself. The ideas are balanced: *nascenti* is picked up by *leto*; *dederat* is picked up by *abstulit*, and *arma movenda* is picked up by *exuit armis*. The anaphora *tris ... terna ... ter* straddles this series of correspondences. . Linguistic complexity is probably related deliberately to an idea which is hard to envisage.

tres animas: Servius notes that in being given three lives Erulus was being made into another Geryon, hence Evander into another Hercules, battling against monstrous foes. **Fērōnia:** a goddess of central Italy with a grove at Rome dating to the late third-century BCE (Livy xxii.1.18) and shrines as far apart as Anxur (vii.800) in the south of Latium and Capena in Etruria (Livy xxvi.11.8–9). The differences which follow from ‘three lives’ (564) as opposed to ‘three bodies’ (Geryon) are left to our imagination, which is encouraged to work by the exclamation **horrendum** (‘shudder-worthy’) **dictu** (supine*), for which cf. *altissima visu* (234n). **leto:** *letum* is used in the *Aeneid* less than half as often as *mors*; sometimes it seems to be used for the sake of euphony (x.622 and xii.49), sometimes because it seems a more solemn word; it always refers to violent death.

In the pathos of an old man wishing himself back to youth and activity it is tempting to see a reminiscence of Priam (ii.509–18).

568. **divellerer:** imperf. subj. of *present* unrealized possibility, vividly responding to the wish for future fulfilment in *referat* (560). **usquam:** ‘anywhere’ – that is ‘least of all as you went to war’; **umquam** at the end of 569 means ‘at no place, at no time’ – ‘passionate emphasis’ (Page).

569–70. **huic capiti insultans:** *insulto* is literally ‘to trample on’ (xii.339 – of Turnus – *caesis hostibus insultans*: ‘trampling on his slaughtered enemies’), thus, even as a metaphor*, much stronger than Eng. ‘insult’. *caput* ‘person’ as in 145. *hic* used to refer to oneself: Plautus *Ep*.141 *huic homini opus est quadraginta minis* ‘I (lit. ‘this man’) need 40 minas (money)’. **finitimo:** ‘(me, his) neighbour’. The word can hardly be being used to aggravate Mezentius’s offence. It is normal for wars to be fought between neighbours, and the idea of charity towards one’s neighbour

comes to us not from any classical source, but from English translations of such passages as Matthew xviii.19. Rather, it is the expression of Evander's distress at his inability to perform the most basic duty of a king: to keep the neighbours at bay. But Evander's description of Mezentius (481–91) suggests that his violence was enacted entirely on his own people, not his neighbours, even though fellow-feeling among the Etruscans prompts them all to demand that the Rutuli surrender Mezentius (494–5). So it is a new idea when he seems to suggest (570–1) that Pallanteum has suffered at Mezentius's hands. (571 *urbem* is surely Pallanteum not Caere: Evander can hardly be taking responsibility for Mezentius's brutality there.) But Virgil is not consistent on the state of peace or war in Italy: vii.46 'Evander had been ruling during a long period of peace'; viii.55: Evander's Arcadians 'are at constant war with the Latins'.

dedisset: 'caused' (OLD24). The alliteration* *ferro* – *funera* holds the phrase together over the enjambment. **tot ... tam** form a sort of anaphora* of exclamatory adverbs. **viduasset:** short form ('syncope') of pluperf. subj. *viduavisset*. Evander's despair extends itself from a wish for the future (pres. subj. *referat* 560) through a longing for the present (imperf. subj. *divellerer* 568) to a regret for the past (pluperf. subj. *dedisset*, *viduasset*). **civibus** is abl. of separation* (NLG 214(b)).

573. **Arcadii:** it is not immediately obvious why Evander makes a point about his origin in appealing to Jupiter – unless perhaps we are intended to think of traditions about Arcadia such as are mentioned by the Greek travel-writer Pausanias (second-century CE): 'Because of their justice and religion the [Arcadians of ancient time] entertained gods and sat at table with them, and the gods visibly rewarded their goodness with favour and their wickedness with wrath' (viii.2.4 trs. Levi).

574. Williams notes that both the pattern of this line and its thought, a transition from emotional apostrophe* to rational request, reflect Dido's words in iv.612. **numina:** the separate authority of individual divinities. Individual gods and goddesses may disagree (most notably

Juno and Venus in this poem), so Evander sums them up with **fata**, 'destiny', which must speak with a single voice.

575. **incolumem** must be translated after **Pallanta**: 'keeping P. for me unharmed'. **reservant**: only four times in the Aeneid, of keeping something/someone back for a greater purpose. The emphatic words are at beginning and end of line.

576. **si visurus eum vivo**: 'if I am living with the prospect of seeing him ...' **eum**: parts of *is*, 'a colourless pronoun, with no existence apart from the noun to which it refers' (Austin on A.iv.479) are very rare in Virgil. Here it looks as if everything is subordinated to the moving alliteration*, (*u* and *v* are of course vowel and consonant forms of the same letter in Latin) which carries on (including *unum*) till the first word of 577.

577. **patior**, often meaning 'I allow' here takes on 'I agree'; **laborem** is obj. of **durare**, which elsewhere in Virgil is intransitive. *perferre* would have fitted the verse here; Virgil evidently wanted the extra idea of *durus* – 'hard'. *laborem* is possibly an echo of Hercules (see 564–7n.). *Labor* was well-enough established as a word for Hercules's achievements for Catullus some years earlier to say impatiently (55.13) of a friend he could not find *sed te iam ferre Herculi labos est*: 'It is a real labour of Hercules, putting up with you'.

578. **aliquem ... casum**: Evander cannot bring himself to express the alternative to Pallas's safe return, as he acknowledges with **infandum**. **Fortuna**: The gods and destiny would be responsible for Pallas's safe return (574–5), but Evander cannot bear to suggest that they might be responsible for his death: it would have to be Fortuna, who distributes good and bad merely on a whim (Horace, *Odes* i.35.1–4). This clear distinction between *fatum* and *fortuna* is rather different from 334 (see note).

579. **o**: see note on 560; here it merely intensifies **liceat** 'may I be allowed' – jussive* subjunctive (NLG 275 1). **crudelem abrumperre vitam**: the same words used in ix.497 by Euryalus's mother who has just heard of her son's death.

580–2. **dum curae ambiguae** (*sunt*): ‘while my anxieties point in different directions’. **dum ... futuri** (*est*): *spes* here ‘expectation’ rather than ‘hope’ (OLD2); *futuri* depends on it: ‘expectation of what is to come’. The two *dum*-clauses are barely distinguishable in meaning; they form the first two elements of a tricolon*, contrasting with the third in that they are neatly arranged in the two ‘halves’ of a line (before and after third-foot caesura*), while the third spreads itself over a whole line and a half. **sola et sera voluptas**: ‘my only delight at the end of my life’. In iii.660 Virgil speaks of the giant Cyclops, blinded by Odysseus, having his woolly sheep as his *sola voluptas/solamenque mali*, ‘his only delight, the only consolation of his misfortune’; the only other occurrence of the word in the *Aeneid* is when Mezentius (x.846) bitterly asks himself what delight he could have in life so great as to let his son be killed defending him. There is some strength in Eden’s argument in favour of the reading of P and Servius (on ix.480, quoting this passage): *sera et sola*, that it makes a more effective rhetorical crescendo. **gravior ... vulneret**: ‘and let no news too grim injure my ears’, carrying the sense on from 579, with the idea ‘were I dead, no news would come ...’. The comparative of an adjective *x* often suggests ‘on the *x* side’, ‘too *x*’: *senectus est natura loquacior*: ‘old age is too talkative’ (Cicero, *Cato Minor* 55). **vulneret**: for highly emotional speeches breaking off after the first foot cf. vi.886 (Anchises on Marcellus), vii.599 (Latinus forced to resign his kingship) and xi.827 (Camilla dying). As if to suggest ‘Much to say, but no more words to say it with.’

583–4. **genitor**: Evander’s long speech only became directed specifically to Pallas in 581; this word reminds us. **digressu**: abl. of time* as *discessu* 215; the word is different from *discessus* in having more of a sense of ‘parting’. **fundebat ... ferebant**: ‘The imperfects are to be noticed, showing that the old man fails and is carried away while he is yet speaking’ (Conington). **conlapsa**: Lyne (*Words and the poet*, 1989, 39–43) pointed out that *conlabor* in Virgil’s day was a technical term for the collapse of buildings, and that Virgil’s uses of it are metaphors* for that. Used of Dido (iv.391), it foreshadows the fall of Carthage. A

question the *Aeneid* seems to leave unanswered is ‘what happened to Pallanteum between Aeneas’s foundation of Lavinium and Romulus’s foundation of Rome?’ There may be a hint of an answer here.

585–607. The Trojans with their Arcadian allies ride to join the Etruscans at Caere.

585. Virgil now characteristically springs a new and vivid scene to our attention (cf. i.34, iv.129). Like the departure of Dido’s hunting party it takes place at the city gate, with two parties of horsemen and the Trojans in a separate group from their hosts/allies. In each case the central figures (Dido/Pallas) are described with reference to their colourful garb. The idea of bright morning appears in the narrative in iv and in a brilliant simile* here (589–91). Both scenes are in sharp contrast with what precedes and with tragic events to follow.

adeo here is an emphatic particle: ‘and right now’. **exierat**: if we read this pluperfect very literally we shall accuse Pallas of hard-heartedly abandoning his father at the moment of farewell. See 219n. for ‘shooting the narrative forward’. But in this very sudden change of atmosphere it is possible to read the confidence of youth as it overrides, perhaps thoughtlessly, the anxiety of old age.

portis: Virgil does not seem to be imagining Evander’s settlement in the same detail as he did previously. ‘Which gate?’ one might ask, and, of 592, ‘Where are the walls?’ He is not concerned. Nor does he worry about the route taken by the departing force (see on 594).

587. **alii** = *ceteri*, as **alios** in 590 = *ceteros*.

588. A verb here is easily understood out of *exierat* (585). **in**: All MSS read this, and it is Servius’s reading too. Markland’s suggestion *it* was adopted by Mynors in OCT and from him by Fordyce because the repetition of *in* in the same line was felt to be weak, while *it* is something of a Virgilian favourite (see 557 *it timor*, iv.130 *it portis* ... *iuventus* – both at line-opening). There are in fact five occasions in the *Aeneid* where *in* is repeated within a line. In two of them there is a rhetorical

point (anaphora) in the repetition (ii.337 and x.675); in two a point is made by the contrast between *in* + acc. and *in* + abl. (10.309, 334). In only one (x.412) is there what seems a straightforward repetition of *in* with the same case (abl.). Even so, we cannot be so sure that Virgil did not write repeated *in* here as to succumb wholly to the attractions of *it*.

chlamyde: The *chlamys* is a short riding cloak which can be flung over the shoulder. Cavalrymen on the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum are wearing them (☉ Parthenon west frieze;), where they suggest the same carefree spirit which Pallas surely displays here. **pictis** should be taken with both *chlamyde* and *armis*: with the former it will suggest embroidery, with the latter metallic inlay of gold and silver. **conspectus:** the word shifts slightly from 'seen' to 'visible' to 'conspicuous'; cf. *inaccessam* in 195.

589–91. **qualis ...:** (He was) such as Lucifer, when he ... raises his blessed face into the sky.... 'Lucifer, 'light-bringer', is the morning star, for us the planet Venus (see 280), and also associated closely with her in antiquity. Servius on i.382 quotes a story from Varro that Aeneas saw his mother's star every day from the time he left Troy until his arrival in Italy here. That this star was Lucifer seems to follow from Lucifer's appearance in the last lines of ii, heralding the morning after the sack of Troy. **Oceani:** The river Oceanus in mythology surrounds the inhabited world. Stars emerge from it as they rise and sink into it as they set. **caelo:** dative 'of direction'* (NLG193; GL358), and cf. i.6, where it was Aeneas's mission in that he should undergo much trouble *dum ... inferret deos Latio* – 'till he ... bring his gods to Latium'. **resolvit** is presumably perf. like *extulit*.

592. **pavidae matres:** again (see 556) the outbreak of war is seen through the eyes of fearful mothers.

594. **olli:** see on 94. **per dumos:** 'thorny scrub'. **quā proxima meta viarum:** '(by the route) on which the goal of their journey is closest'. The quickest way to Caere is by the route of the *Via Aurelia*, but to get to that one has to cross the river, most straightforwardly from close to the

Ara Maxima. There is no suggestion of a bridge. As above (see on 585 *portis*) Virgil has ceased to be concerned with topography.

595. **it clamor:** it appears seven times in the *Aeneid* with its subject a noun indicating a sound (*stridor, clamor, gemitus*). The effect is similar to the impersonal passive *clamatur* ‘there is a shout’. **agmine facto:** once they are clear of the *dumi* they form up (getting into order is a noisy business, hence *clamor*) and then they are off like a shot.

596. The famous line which is regularly quoted as the quintessence of dactylic rhythm. Ennius, as so often, lies behind it: the phrase *quatit ungula terram* occurs three times in fragments of the *Annales*, and the verb *quadrupedare* is also from him. It seems to be Virgil who applied it brilliantly to the *sound* of galloping horses, which is represented not simply by the rhythm but the succession of hard consonants.

597. **est ... lucus:** a six-line ecphrasis* (cf. on 233), with unusually, two separate indicators of relevance, *haud procul hinc* (603) and *huc* (606). **Caerītis:** take as gen. of the noun, ‘Caere’s river’, apparently irregular to judge by the abl., which appears as *Caerēte* at 10.183.

598. **religione ... sacer:** ‘venerated extensively in ancestral cult’. **late:** i.e. over a wide area (Servius).

599. ‘On all sides hollow hills enclose it and surround the wood (= the *lucus*) with dark fir trees.’ **inclusere** = *incluserunt*, the (syncopated*) perfect expressing ‘effect’ (Conington) cf. ii.300 *recessit*. **colles** are **cavi** in that they create the valley between. The expression seems a little strained in that *nemus* is a mere repetition of the word *lucus* where it is not even syntactically necessary. (We could easily understand *eum*.) Ancient readers may have felt this awkwardness: Macrobius’s quotation (iii.3.9) has *cingit*, thus ‘a wood of dark fir trees surrounds it’ – *nigra abiete* abl. of description* – which is attractive but insufficiently supported. (See Conington’s note.) **abiete:** scan as a dactyl with consonant *i*: *ābjētě* (as in ii.16, of the Trojan Horse).

600–1. **Pelasgos:** elsewhere in the *Aeneid* this word is used for contemporary Greeks. But there is a tradition recorded in Dionysius

(i.17–30) of the Pelasgi as a very ancient Greek people, who emigrated to Italy and occupied large areas of central Italy, but had been suppressed or driven out before the arrival of the Arcadians. If Virgil means Greeks of this sort here, **Silvano** will mean, from the Greek point of view, ‘to Pan’. (For the association see Plautus *Aulularia* 674, where we find an out-of-the-way grove dedicated to Silvanus, who probably there represents Pan in the Greek original.) It also appears that there existed an Etruscan god Selvans, who may be the original of or derived from Silvanus; either way, this suggests that we have here another aetiological* passage. **sacrasse**: syncopated* form of *sacravisse*; the obj. is **lucumque diemque**. The ‘day’ is evidently an (annual) festival.

602. **qui**: the antecedent (NLG250-1, GL613) is *Pelagos* (600). **habuere** = *habuerunt*. **aliquando** can refer to an unknown time past or future. **Latinos**: but we are in Etruria here, and nowhere else does Virgil seem to include Etruria in Latin territory (for the one apparent exception see Fordyce on vii.716). Looseness here, or had Virgil originally planned the Silvanus-grove for another location?

603–5. **tuta locis**: either ‘protected by its situation’ or the phrase is equivalent to *tutis locis*. The second seems preferable: ‘by situation’ would naturally be singular *loco* (OLD6). Commentators ask how the camp can be safe when it is at the bottom of a hill and under potentially hostile observation (604). Servius moves it up to a plateau. But the point is surely that by using the term *legio* (untechnical though it can sometimes be), by indicating the great number of (surely well-ordered) tents, and by giving us a hill-top view, he is inviting us to admire the good order of what is a proto-Roman military camp (© niku.no.archaeology). **tendebat**: from *tendo* (OLD2) ‘live under canvas’.

Lines 603–7 contain seven words meaning ‘and’. Not all of them connect clauses, but the style is highly paratactic*, a matter-of-fact conclusion to an elevated passage.

Aeneas’s arrival at Caere marks (i) an important *beginning*: the alliance which will lead to the defeat of the Latins. It also marks (ii) an important *end*. Two-thirds of the Aeneid have passed in preparing Aeneas for

this coming crisis, and when he now receives his armour it marks the triumphant conclusion of that preparation. Servius acutely notes that Virgil avoids getting (i) and (ii) muddled up by leaving until early in Book x (147–56) the account of Aeneas's meeting with Tarchon and the establishment of the Etruscan alliance.

608–731. Venus finds Aeneas on his own and presents him with the armour made by Vulcan. Of this the most striking element is the shield. It is decorated with scenes from Roman history to come, culminating in Augustus's victory at the Battle of Actium and his subsequent triumph. For a detailed discussion of this passage see pp. 42–6.

608. **At Venus:** the words mark the beginning of Venus's project at 370 and its conclusion here. The rest of the line neatly places the goddess in words among the clouds by which she is surrounded in fact (cf. 32). She is radiant (*candida*). Is her radiance set off by dark clouds (*nimbus* a storm cloud, cf. x.634) or is it a vision of competing brightnesses (*nimbus* as in ix.111)? (See Austin on ii.616.)

609–10. The private character of this meeting is given by **reducta** and **secretum**, reminding us that Aeneas is throughout the *Aeneid* a very solitary character, his only regular companion Achates having very little to say. Augustus himself could be so seen: Horace *Epistles* ii.1: 'When you have so many and great burdens to bear on your own ...'. Virgil does not explain why he is on his own here: to judge from *ultra* (611) he is not expecting Venus. **egelido:** evidently the river of 597. The word *egelidus* was used by Catullus (46.1) and others to mean 'warn', and it is normal for the compound *e-* to reverse the meaning of what follows, cf. *edens* 'toothless', *elinguis* 'tongueless'. But as a verbal prefix it can emphasize: *edisco* 'learn thoroughly', and it seems Virgil has used this idea to give *egelidus* a new meaning here. That is, if Virgil wrote *egelido*. Most MSS read *et gelido*. The preference for *egelido* lies in (i) that it is more likely for an unfamiliar word to be changed into a familiar one than *vice versa*, (ii) that Virgil seems to have been copied by the fourth-century CE poet Ausonius (*Epistles* 20.4), who used it of the river Moselle. **flumine:** abl. 'of place where*' without preposition: 'beside the river'.

611. 'Hysteron proteron' * (Servius); it is so, of a very common type, where two aspects of what is effectively the same event are presented in an order which puts the most important last (Fordyce on vii.7); the same is true of 615–16. **ultro**: 'unasked'; see 609–10n.

612. **en** with **munera**: 'Here are my gifts.' The rest of 612 is a phrase describing *munera*. Note *perfectā* but *promissā*. **mox**: We would surely say 'Now you need not hesitate ...' **mox** simply makes the point that that time is not yet, so 'When the time comes' (Gransden).

613–14. A brief hyperbaton, name first then adj., followed by an extensive one, adj. first then the name and climax **Turnum. in proelia**: the *in* conveys purpose.

615. **amplexūs** acc. pl.

616. **adversā** with **quercu** (trees are regularly fem. in Latin); the idea is 'she placed the arms where he could look straight at them, under an oak'. A fine symmetrical line: noun/adj./adj./noun. Gold gleaming under an oak tree: the idea probably (see on 622) from Apollonius iv.123, where the Golden Fleece gleams where it hangs on an oak. Oak is also relevant to Augustus: the *civica corona* was a military award for saving the life of a Roman citizen; it took the form of an oak wreath and was awarded to Augustus, who displayed it on the door of his house (*Res Gestae* 34.2) (Camps 102).

617. **donis** theme*, **honore** variation.

618. Take **oculos** with both **expleri** and **volvit**. With *expleri* it is retained* acc. (cf. *corda* 265: 'he cannot be satisfied in his eyes'), with *volvit* it is obj.

619. **miratur** and **versat** govern as objects all the accusatives (referring to each element of the arms) down to 625.

620. **flammas vomentem**: 'spouting flames'. *Vomere* does not seem to have distasteful associations. The phrase anticipates the description of Augustus's helmet in 681. **fatiferum**: the adj. not found before Virgil, and not lightly chosen or invented: the sword fulfils destiny in xii.950.

loricam: probably to be imagined as made of solid bronze, to judge by statues of the period, for example the Prima Porta Augustus. Note the variety in the references to the elements of armour: how many epithets each has, how they are ordered, what form they take. The *lorica* has no fewer than four, of which the last is a simile taken (like the oak tree in 616) from Apollonius's account of the Golden Fleece: iv.125f: 'like a cloud which turns red with the fiery rays of the rising sun'.

624. **ocreas:** *ocreae* are shin-protectors. **electro...:** 'made of electrum ...' The abl. is 'of source*', cf. iii.286 *aere cavo clipeum*, 'a shield of hollow bronze'. **recocto:** 'several times purified' (Servius).

625. **non enarrabile textum:** *textum* does not refer simply to the 'structure' of the shield. Virgil has already described this briefly (447–8). Servius (surely rightly) took it as referring also to the scenes on the shield. Virgil is denying his capacity to treat the great subject which he is in fact about to treat. It is a sort of tiny *recusatio*, a statement of incapacity whereby poets declined (sometimes ironically) to write about certain subjects. Such statements regularly come at the beginning of poems, so to have one here is to indicate that this is the beginning of something special. The idea 'unspeakable' occurs three times in Hesiod's *Shield*: 144, 161 and 230.

The ecphrasis (see pp. 53–4) which follows is by far the longest in the *Aeneid*.

Interpreters of the passage used to attempt a diagram showing the shield and its contents (several can be seen on a quick internet search). But the project is a non-starter. We are told (629) that the shield contains in sequence all the wars fought by the Romans. Nothing more is heard of this programme, which is quite inconsistent with what Virgil actually describes. The poet is plainly telling his audience not to be too literal-minded and to use their imagination.

Given that we do not see everything on the shield, who decides what we do see? Is it what Aeneas's uncomprehending eye happens to light on? If not, it is the poet's deliberate selection? Of course it is the latter – but Virgil teases us with the notion of the former.

Virgil guides our imagination in a variety of ways. Sometimes we have what seems to be a place-marker: *in summo* 652, *haec inter* 671, *et circum* 673, *in medio* 675 and *desuper* 705. These have been differently interpreted; some of them seem more likely to refer to the story currently being told than to the shield as a whole. Sometimes we are reminded that it is a piece of metalwork: gold and silver in 655, gold three times in 659–61, gold and silver in 671–2, bronze in 675 – but this bronze is both Vulcan’s and that of the shipbuilder who gives the ships a brazen ram; iron in 701. Sometimes we are reminded that Vulcan is the craftsman: *fecerat* 628, *extuderat* 665, *addit* 666, *fecerat* 710 and *finxerat* 726 – among these note the unexpected and striking present tense of *addit*. Sometimes we are reminded of ourselves as spectators: *aspiceres* 650, *cernere erat*, *videres* 676, *credas* 691 and *videbatur* 707 (and is *ruere* 689 a historic infinitive or is it indirect, following an imagined (e.g.) *videres*?) Sometimes the scene is static: from 678 to 684 there is no main verb, only participles and relative clauses. Sometimes the form of the verb sets up a tension in our minds: *auderet* 650 and *innaret* 651: the subjunctive* shows that they are thoughts in Porsenna’s mind (cf. 130); but we inevitably read it as if Horatius and Cocles are shown swimming and breaking the bridge. As is appropriate to an illustration described, there is not a single perfect tense. Everything is in the course of happening. Yet clearly there *is* a sequence of events: the battle begins; the gods participate; Cleopatra flees; she reaches the Nile. If we are strict with ourselves, these are separate illustrations as in a strip; if we are carried along by the force of the description, we follow the events over time. At one point we even seem to be privy to one of Vulcan’s problems: how to cram it all in. At 660 we find *sagulis*, one of the only three diminutives used in all the *Aeneid*: it may be used here precisely to suggest that each scene must be represented in miniature.

The variety is remarkable. Sometimes we are close, sometimes we are remote; sometimes we see through Vulcan’s eyes, sometimes through Virgil’s, sometimes through our own. Sometimes we are conscious of

the craftsmanship, sometimes of the narrative. Sometimes things are happening, sometimes all is at a standstill. No wonder Aeneas was amazed.

On the significance of the shield, see pp. 42–6. See also J. G. Griffith (1967–8). *Again the shield of Aeneas*, Proc.Verg.Soc, 7.54–65, David West (1975): *Cernere erat*, in Oxford Readings 295–304, Philip Hardie (1986) *Cosmos and Imperium*, 336–76.

626. The union of Rome and Italy is a frequent theme of Virgil and of Augustan propaganda (513). It appears here with a heavy emphasis on Rome, as the long word **Romanorum** appears in mid-line, all long syllables and with every syllable receiving either an ictus or an accent*; it is the Romans too who have the triumphs. Just as the *Aeneid* concludes with the absorption of Trojans into Italians, so Virgil seems to suggest that the achievement of Augustus is the absorption of Italians into Romans.

627. **vatum ignarus** theme*; **venturique inscius aevi** variation. **haud ignarus**: litotes*, ‘very well aware’.

628–9. **genus ... stirpis**: ‘the whole line of the family which was to be, starting from Ascanius’. Virgil uses, and does not harmonize, two separate traditions about Trojan descent in Italy. One of them appears in Jupiter’s speech to Venus in i.267–277, where it is Ascanius’s descendants who rule at Alba Longa and from whom Romulus is descended, the other in vi.760–66, where Silvius, son of Aeneas and Lavinia stands at the head of this line. **in ordine**: with *fecerat*.

630–4. *Romulus and Remus*. They were the children of Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, king of Alba Longa and descendant of Aeneas. (She is named Ilia in Jupiter’s prophecy in i.273–6.) Numitor was deposed by his brother Amulius, who forced Rhea Silvia to be a Vestal Virgin, thus ensuring that she would remain childless. Romulus and Remus were born of a union between Rhea Silvia and the god Mars. Amulius ordered Romulus and Remus to be thrown into the river Tiber, upon whose banks they were cast up next to the Lupercal and suckled by a she-wolf in the cave. (In literary versions of the story, they were

very soon found and adopted by the shepherd Faustulus, but Virgil is concerned with the striking picture of the wolf and the children.)

630. **Mavortis**: from Mavors, an archaic* form of the name Mars. **in antro**: the Lupercal has no known ritual association with Mars; it is presumably sufficient that Mars's children Romulus and Remus were born there. **viridi**: perhaps because there was a sacred grove at the entrance (DH i.79.8; Richardson p. 238).

631–3. **procubuisse**: infin. of indirect speech; perf. because we are not concerned with the act of lying down but with the look of her as she is *lying/has lain* down. There would usually be a word of 'saying' to introduce a story, but here the story is being told is a visual one, so the word is 'made'. **lupam**: Virgil here goes along with the derivation of *Lupercal* from *lupus*. In 343 he offered a somewhat different one. **geminos ... impavidos**: '(and) how hanging around her udders there are two boys playing, sucking upon (her as) their mother, unafraid.' **huic**: 'as for her' (dat. of reference* GL350; NLG 188). With simultaneous playing and sucking Virgil has compressed the visual ideas. **pendentes** combines two senses of *pendeo*: (i) literally 'to hang' (OLD1) which is what it looks like, (ii) 'to be concentrated on' (OLD4), like the farmer's children in G.ii.523: *dulces pendent circum oscula nati*, 'they hang upon his kisses'. **tereti**: 'supple' like the cord of a sling (xi.579) or the mesh of a hunting net (Horace *Odes* i.1.28). **reflexa**: see Eden on this line for a strong argument in favour of the reading *reflexam*. **alternos**: 'in turn', **fingerē lingua**: as in the proverbial 'lick into shape'. Servius says that Virgil wished to express the animal's movements 'as we see it in actual statues of the she-wolf'. This is very unlike the famous Capitoline she-wolf to which Michelangelo added the children: she is standing in an attitude which is fiercely defensive, not lovingly maternal. (☉ Capitoline wolf; images – and cf. the coin (265 BCE) showing the wolf *cervice reflexa*.)

635–41. *The rape of the Sabine women and its aftermath*. Rome had been founded as a refuge for landless men and shepherds (Livy i.6.4). Women were needed to keep the community going. Romulus's friendly

suggestions of joint marriage rights with neighbouring communities were rebuffed. He therefore laid on a great show to which the Sabines came en masse with their wives and daughters. During the show the Romans seized all desirable women and carried them off home. A war between Romans and Sabines followed. The Sabines under their king Titus Tatius seized the Capitol, while Romulus's forces were based on the Palatine. A battle in the Forum was stopped when the women came between the opposing forces with the plea that husbands and fathers should not kill each other. A peace treaty followed immediately (see 640): the Sabines and Romans united to form a single community.

635. **nec procul hinc**: the first transitional phrase. It is worth noting the variety: *haud procul inde* (642), *nec non* (646), *in summo* (652), *hic* (663), *hinc procul addit* (661), *haec inter* (671), *in medio* (675). This one can serve for position on the Shield as well as for actual topography: the Circus Maximus is only a step away from the Lupercal (Servius on viii.90). **Romam** acc. as obj. of **addiderat** (637). Both **raptas** and **actis** (636) are perf. participles which must be translated as pres.: 'the Sabines being dragged off', 'while the games were being held'. Latin has no pres. part. pass. The perf. part. of deponent verbs came to be used as present (*usus* 'using'), and by extension the passive acquired a similar licence. **sine more**: 'wickedly'. Tacitus describes the last years of the Republic as having *non mos, non ius* (*Annals* iii.28.2), 'neither morality nor law'.

636. **consessu caveae**: *cavea* strictly refers to the auditorium of a theatre, but the tradition was that the Sabines were invited to a spectacle of horse-racing, which would take place at the Circus: *cavea* has been transferred here.

637. **consurgere** follows **addiderat** as *procubuisse* follows *fecerat* above. **novum** ('unexpected') repeats the idea in **subito**: 'a war flared up'.

638. **Romulidis**: *Romulidae* (plural) is a patronymic like *Atrides* (130) and *Laomedontiades* (158). It becomes extended from 'sons of' to mean 'people of': *Aeneadae* has already been used (vii.616) to mean 'the people of Aeneas' (when Aeneas himself is still there). As a Greek

formation using a Latin name it sounds a little quaint. Lucretius coined it (iv.683); this is its only appearance in Virgil. **Tatio:** Tatius was the Sabine king. **Curibus:** Cures, some 40 km up the Tiber valley from Rome, was the Sabine capital. **severis:** the Sabines were a byword for 'virtuous simplicity and strictness' (Eden).

639. **post:** the historian speaks, not the describer. **idem ... reges:** 'the very same kings', with hyperbaton* and redundant *idem*, makes the Augustan point: reconciliation in a civil conflict.

640. **armati:** that is still on the battlefield. We perhaps look forward to xii.113–215, the abortive treaty between Trojans and Latins. **Iovis ante aram:** at a crisis moment in the battle Romulus had vowed to establish a *templum* (i.e. a sacred precinct, not a building housing a god) to Jupiter if he stopped the Romans running away. He did so at the point when the battle had reached the way up from the Forum to the Palatine, and the *templum* to Jupiter Stator ('Stayer') was established there. The great temple (building) to Jupiter Capitolinus was not constructed until the period of the Tarquins. **paterasque tenentes:** making the point visually: simultaneous religious and military activity. *paterae* were bowls for pouring libations. **porca:** sacrifice of a pig was appropriate for making peace (xii.170, Livy i.24.8). Ancient and modern scholars have been puzzled as to why Virgil made the animal feminine.

642–5. *Mettus Fufetius*. Mettus (Livy calls him Mettius) was dictator of Alba Longa. In a war between Rome and nearby Etruscan Veii the Albans were nominally allies of Rome, but Mettus tried to ensure that Rome would be defeated by unexpectedly withdrawing his forces in mid-battle. When the Romans under the third king Tullus Hostilius won anyway, Mettus was deposed and punished in the manner described here.

642. **haud procul inde:** second transitional phrase. **citae in diversa:** 'hurrying in opposite directions'.

643. **distulerant:** no understatement. There is a fragment of an Ennius tragedy *fluctus differt visceratim membra* (frg.119V), 'the wave pulled

(his) body apart, gut by gut.' The pluperf. indicates the stage of events which is illustrated, that is after Mettus is dead and Tullus is dragging his remains around in a victory rampage. To increase the horror Virgil has made Tullus himself one of the chariot drivers; Livy (i.28.10) and Dionysius (iii.30.6) did not. Of the episode Livy says 'The first and last occasion on which the Romans punished someone in a way contrary to the laws of humanity' – with which we may well disagree, but it matters that he said it. **at tu ... maneres.** *maneres* is the so-called 'past jussive*'. The familiar jussive is present subj. (*moriamur*, 'let us die' ii.353); here the imperf. conveys 'you should have stayed ...'. The parenthesis including the apostrophe* *Albane* is unusual. Quintilian speaks of this instance as almost a contrived mannerism (ix.3.26). Virgil clearly intended it to stand out: the poet addresses Mettus in forceful reproach which contends with, and underlines, the disgust he communicates at Tullus's conduct. The blood-spattered chariot-ride anticipates Turnus's in xii.509–12.

645. **raptabat:** the word used of Achilles's treatment of Hector in i.483, ii.272 (Gransden). **et sparsi** 'the thorn-bushes dripped blood where it had splashed onto them.'

646–51. *Lars Porsenna's attempt to restore Tarquin as king.* According to tradition Tarquinius Superbus was expelled from Rome in 510 BCE. The story of subsequent events, in which Livy (ii.9–10, 13) and Virgil agree, is this. The Etruscan king Porsenna determined to reinstate Tarquin and marched on Rome. His attempt to cross the Tiber was frustrated by Horatius Cocles who succeeded under enemy attack in cutting down the existing wooden bridge. Porsenna recognized that he would not succeed in restoring Tarquin, so agreed to withdraw on the condition that hostages were handed over to him. One of these was the virgin Cloelia, who proceeded to escape by swimming across the river. Porsenna demanded her return but at the same time expressed his admiration and promised to release her immediately. This whole story appears to be a patriotic fiction: judging from Tac. *Hist.* 3.72 it was accepted that Porsenna had captured Rome.

646–8. **nec non**: transitional phrase. **iubebat**: ‘was giving the order’, there is no expressed object; **Tarquinium** is obj. of **accipere**. The rhyming imperfects at the ends of these lines (‘homoioteleuton’*) are conspicuous. They seem to prepare for the climax *minantem/aspiceret* with something of the fourfold build-up that we find in *The Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens*: ‘To Noroway, To Noroway,/To Noroway o’er the faem./The King’s daughter o’ Noroway,/’Tis we maun bring her hame.’ **pro libertate**: in the first sentence of Augustus’s *Res Gestae* he makes the claim to have restored the liberty of the Roman people. **in ferrum ruebant**: In G.ii.503f. *in ferrum ruere* is not the sign of a dauntless hero but of one who has got his priorities wrong, and in ix.182 *in bella ruebant* is used of the brave but hot-headed and misguided Nisus and Euryalus. Like so much of Virgil, this ostensibly straightforward line seems to draw the reader in conflicting directions.

649–51. **illum ... aspiceret**: Now Virgil addresses not a character, but an individual in his audience. The imperf. subj. is like that in conditionals: (‘if you were there, you would be able to see’). At this point we seem to be given three definite images from the shield, angry Porsenna, axe-wielding Horatius and swimming Cloelia, the first emphasized by repeated *similem* in chiasmic phrases*. (It matters little that Cloelia’s feat was some time after Horatius’s.) **auderet, innaret** are subj. of implied indirect speech (GL541, NLG 286): ‘You could see that he was angry because ...’ – it is all put into the mind of the spectator. **fluvium**: the acc. is like *ire viam* ‘to go on a journey’ or English ‘to swim the river’ (adverbial accusative NLG176.4a).

652–62. *Defence of the Capitol*. 390 BCE was the blackest year in Roman Republican history. Italy was invaded by an army of Gauls. A Roman force was wiped out at the Battle of the Allia and the Gauls captured the city, all but the Capitol. They would have captured this too in a night attack, but for the warning given by Juno’s sacred geese and the prompt action of Manlius Capitolinus, commander of the defending force. (Livy v.47)

in summo (clipeo): transitional phrase. **Tarpeiae ... arcis**, already mentioned at 347, see note there. **templo:** that of Jupiter Capitolinus, the symbol of Roman nationhood (Horace, *Odes* iii.30.8).

654. 'And the royal house bristled, fresh with Romulus's straw.' A puzzling line. It seems to be referring to the *casa Romuli*, a hut traditionally occupied by Romulus and preserved in perpetuity by regular repairs (cf. 463–7n.). '*Recens culmo*' can refer to these repairs: the fresh straw is interesting for its texture on the shield and perhaps the metal from which it is made (gold?). The difficulty is that both Dionysius and Plutarch (*Romulus* 20), referring to this hut in the course of their narrative of Romulus's life, place it firmly on the Palatine (see 463–7n.). There are however two reliable references to a hut on the Capitol also: Vitruvius ii.5 (who refers to it as Romulus's) and Seneca *Controversiae* ii.1.4, both written in the Augustan period or very shortly after. The following suggestion might have some value. Plutarch, in the same passage, speaks of Titus Tatius living on the Capitol 'where now is the temple of Moneta' while Romulus lived on the Palatine. It happens that Manlius's house was also on the site of the later temple of Moneta (Livy vi.20.13). If 'Tatius's house' was like Romulus's, as seems not improbable, it is just possible that there was a *casa Tatii* next to Manlius's house, whose original association with Tatius had been forgotten, so that it became associated with Romulus (by Vitruvius, none other) because of the similarity. The proximity to Manlius's house might prompt Virgil's reference.

655. **atque:** 'look!' (OLD6), from comedy, so conversational and direct. **auratis:** most obviously of the metal of Vulcan's decorations. But see on 348 for the 'golden' Capitol, and Servius says there really was a silver goose in commemoration of this event.

656. **limine** seems loosely used. The account in Livy and Diodorus has them climbing up the cliffs. **canebat:** both of the cackling of the goose and the prophetic nature of the message; **adesse** depends on *canebat*. (The goose has escaped from his two-dimensional prison here.)

657. **per dumos**: the Capitol was marked by this sort of vegetation in 348. **aderant** vividly conveys *advenerant*: ‘there they were’ (cf. 228). **tenebant**: ‘they were on the point of grasping’. Cf. vi.358, where Palinurus says *iam tuta tenebam* ‘I had safety within my grasp’. But it makes an odd pair with *tenebat* in 653, which means ‘holding and guarding’.

658. **tenebris** theme, **dono ... opacae** variation.

659. **ollis** = *illis*; possessive* dat.; understand *erat*. For the archaic* form, see on 94. **vestis**: Servius thought this meant ‘beard’ taking his cue from the metaphor* *vestibat* in 160 and perhaps from the fact that the Gauls’ dress is sufficiently described in the following line. But there the context makes the metaphor clear; here there is nothing similar.

659–61. Metallic colours come thick and fast in these lines: *aurea ... aurea ... auro*, and for variety the implication of *lucent* and *lactea*.

660. **virgatis**: ‘striped’. **sagulis**: The *sagum* was a cloak of coarse fabric. *sagulum* is the diminutive. Diminutives are very rare in Virgil; three only, in fact: *parvulus* (iv.328), *palmula* (5.163) and *sagulum* here. Eden suggests that the usage here is one of the expressions which appreciate Vulcan’s craftsmanship: ‘tiny cloaks of tiny figures’.

661. **auro innectuntur**: ‘their necks are entwined with gold’. They are wearing the torc, which was in fact a characteristic Gallic decoration (©Wikipedia ‘Torc’ for some magnificent examples). Manlius’s son acquired the *cognomen* Torquatus from the torc he acquired from a defeated Gallic chieftain c.360 BCE.

661–2. **Alpina ... gaesa**: The *gaesum* is a Gallic javelin; the word is a Gallic import and consciously used for effect. The term for such adoptions is *glossa*. Ennius used the Illyrian word *sybina* (frg. 504V) for a spear; Virgil uses the Punic word *magalia* (iv.259) for the huts of the north African countryside. **corpora**: retained acc*, see 28–30n. **scutis longis**: the long shield is also characteristically Gallic: Livy xxxviii.21.4.

663. **hic**: transitional word, but, for variety's sake, it also picks up *hic* from 655 ('in one place ... in another'). **Salios, Lupercos**: obj. of **extuderat** (665). Vulcan 'had hammered them out' in relief. Metal relief work in Roman art was of amazing complexity (☉Boscoreale cup), even if repoussé work, which this sounds like, was hardly serviceable on a working shield. On the Salii see 285n. During their dancing progress round the city in March they wore the **apices** and carried the shields called **ancilia** (664), which they beat with spears as they danced. The *apex* was a close-fitting cap which rose to a sort of spike to which a tuft of wool was attached (*lanigeros*); it was otherwise restricted to the *flamines*, the most ancient of Rome's priesthoods. It can be seen in one of the processions illustrated on the *Ara Pacis*. The *ancilia* were shields of a very ancient figure-of-eight shape. One of them was said to have fallen from heaven in the time of King Numa (Plutarch *Numa* 13): its safekeeping would guarantee Rome's survival. To ensure this by confusing potential thieves Numa had eleven identical copies made – thus there were enough for each member of the college of Salii. Virgil's reference here (along with Livy's in i.20.4) might suggest a different version: that all had fallen from heaven. And the word **lapsa** sets a puzzle. How did the Shield indicate this? – unless *lapsa* is to be understood as *labentia* – the shields actually falling, as seems to be suggested by Hardie (1986) 354 (cf. 635–6n.). The *Luperci* constituted an equally ancient association (*sodalitas*). On 15 February the members ran, naked except for a goatskin thong, round the Palatine Hill, on their way striking anyone they met with the thong. In Augustus's time this was thought to promote fertility in women (Ovid *Fasti* ii.425–8).

665–6. 'Chaste matrons took part in sacred processions through the city (riding) in comfortable carriages.' **matres** for *matronae*, married women of good standing. Women were granted the right to ride in carriages in public processions as a reward for raising the money either to build the temple of Apollo (Livy 5.25.9) or as the ransom paid to the Gauls when they withdrew from Rome (Diodorus 14.116). **ducebant sacra**: 'were taking part in religious processions'; the expression is similar in G.iv.256 where bees *funera ducunt*.

668–70. *Scenes from the afterlife*. This forms a coda to the first section of the shield description. The first line is an adaptation of G.iv.467 *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*, Orpheus's route to the world below, where *ostia* is more appropriate: here it is almost a perfunctory opening to the mention of the two individuals. (i) L. Sergius Catilina ('Catiline'), an aristocrat struggling to re-establish his family's place in the political elite, attempted to exploit the social chaos which followed the various civil wars of the first thirty years of the first century BCE. In 63, Augustus's birth year, he was outmanoeuvred by Cicero as consul, chose to go to war himself rather than accept his failure and died in battle in 62. The rhetoric employed against him by Cicero effectively demonized him, as we see here. (ii) There were two republican statesmen called Cato, one of the first half of the second century BCE and the other his great-grandson, a near contemporary of Julius Caesar. Both were held up as models of single-minded frugality and severity. But the presence of Catiline makes it clear (in spite of Servius's statement) that the reference is to the younger Cato, whose hostility to Catiline was a determining factor in the government's firm, even drastic treatment of the conspiracy. (See Appendix for further discussion of this passage.)

hinc procul: transitional phrase. *procul* in an aesthetic sense even if not in terms of shield-placing.

667. **Tartareas:** no distinction is made here (as it is in vi) between Tartarus as the pit of Hell and the remaining, less terrifying, regions of the underworld.

668–9. **Catilina:** a striking apostrophe*. Nothing in the text so far leads one to expect the mention of a character whom a good number of people still alive will remember, even have known; the same is true, even more so, with Cato two lines later. **minaci ... scopulo:** the nature of Catiline's torment is not clear. The 'threatening crag' sounds like vi.602, where Pirithous is eternally threatened by an unstable rock; the 'Furies's faces' sound like what seems to be Tantalus's fate in vi.605–6; but *pendentem* does not contribute to either of these images.

There is the temptation to ask: how does even the knowledgeable spectator of the Shield identify Catiline and Cato? To those who know their Roman legend and history all the other scenes should be easily identifiable by what is happening and where.

670. **secretos**: 'in a different place'. **dantem iura**: 'issuing legal rulings'. Cato's role is identical to that of Minos in Homer's underworld, whom Odysseus sees *θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσι* (*Od.* xi.569); in several other places in the *Aeneid* the expression *iura dare* is the activity of a ruler (i.507, v.758, etc.), but Cato does not seem to have been promoted as far as this.

671–713. The Battle of Actium: Augustus and Agrippa, aided by the gods of Rome, defeat Antony and, more importantly, the Egyptian queen with her rabble of monstrous divinities. She makes her dejected way back to Egypt and seeks refuge in the bosom of the Nile.

The actual campaign which concluded at Actium was a long drawn out affair. Antony had been assembling forces on the west coast of Greece since the beginning of the year 31 BCE, and at some point concentrated them at the mouth of the Gulf of Ambracia. His supply routes had been severely disrupted by naval action on the part of Agrippa, and Octavian had managed to land his own forces on the east coast of the Adriatic. By the end of August Antony's thirty legions were effectively under siege in their camp. When his fleet sailed out against Octavian's on 2 September 31 his purpose was probably to break free of the blockade – at any rate his ships seem to have been equipped for a voyage as much as for a battle. At some point during the action Cleopatra's ships, which were stationed behind Antony's, saw a gap in the lines ahead and made for the open sea. Antony left his own ship in a small boat and joined her. The fighting at sea went on for some time before Antony's men capitulated. His land forces joined Octavian's after some negotiation.

Virgil's version of the battle is, understandably in an epic context, compressed, dramatized and ideologized.

671. **haec inter** (transitional phrase): 'over a wide space between these scenes ran a picture in gold of the swelling sea, that is the scenes so far

depicted were in a ring round the outside; Manlius was at the top, presumably Tartarus was at the bottom, and Actium is in the middle. But it is a mistake to try to achieve precision. Remember that the shield is accommodating 'the wars fought by the Romans, in sequence' (629); we see very little of it. Both the Homeric and Hesiodic shields have Ocean represented as running round the rim; Hesiod's sea is full of swans and fish, which may have suggested dolphins to Virgil.

672. **caerula:** *caerulus* and *caeruleus*, as well as 'blue' can mean 'dark' (v.20 of the sky at the approach of a storm; vi.410 of Charon's boat which in 303 was *ferruginea* – 'dark', OLD, but cf. Plautus *Mil.* 1179!), so the point is the contrast between dark water and white foam.

673–4. Take **argento** with **clari:** 'dolphins bright with silver'. The central space of the shield with the sea, about whose contents we are now to be told, is separated from the outer scenes by this ring of dolphins stirring up the water. **verrebant ... secabant:** Virgil seems to challenge the imagination with these words ('they threshed the sea as they cut through it').

675–6. **cernere erat:** 'it was possible to see' – a use of *esse* which seems to have come into fashion in the Augustan period and gone out shortly afterwards (Eden). David West chose the phrase as the title of an interesting essay on the Shield (ORVA 295–304), in which he argues, contrary to these notes, that Virgil's presentation of the Shield is visually intelligible and coherent. **aeratas:** both of the actual ships, with bronze-clad prows, and of the representation of them.

676–7. **totum** with **Leucaten**, Greek acc. of *Leucates*, the cape at the southern end of the island of Leucas, some 60 km south of Actium. There was no military activity there during the Actium campaign, so far as we know. Virgil perhaps chose it for pictorial purposes: its name and appearance (◉ akrotiri lefkatas) carry the idea of 'white' in Greek (*leukos*). (For a brief account of the campaign see note on 671–3.) **instructo Marte:** 'with battle-ready forces'. **fervere** and **effulgere:** both verbs normally second conjugation with *ē* in the infin. Treating them

as third allows for dactylic rhythm suitable to the churned-up sea; the *f*-alliteration also contributes.

678. Augustus makes his appearance at almost the exact centre of the description of the shield, and his achievements occupy the remainder of it: the clear message is that Augustus himself has accomplished more than all his predecessors put together.

hinc: a new series of subdivisions with transition-indicators.

Augustus: the third and final triumphant entry made by Augustus in the *Aeneid* (after i.286–90, where the reference has been left with enough ambiguity by Virgil to allow the reader to wonder if this is Julius Caesar, and then vi.791–805.) Virgil promised us *res Italas* in 626; the Italians make their appearance here. As before they are overshadowed by the Romans (see below) but they appear under Augustus' s special protection inside the grand hyperbaton* *Augustus ... Caesar*.

679. The name of Rome is not mentioned, but Augustus's three (perhaps four – see on *magnis dis*) companions symbolize it with solemnity: the senate (**patribus**), the people (think of the formal designation of the Roman government: *Senatus PopulusQue Romanus*), and the gods of Rome. In RG 25 Augustus claimed to have had more than 700 senators (of a total of 1,000) under his command at Actium. **penatibus ... dis:** the end-of-line phrase *cum magnis dis* is a quotation from a line of Ennius (*Annales* 193V) where the enemy king Pyrrhus in a magnanimous gesture allows the Romans to recover their prisoners without ransom. The monosyllabic ending along with the spondaic fifth foot constitutes a striking rhythm, awkward and grand together; this seems to be the main reason for the reference. *magnis dis* may refer to the great gods who appear on the Roman side in 699–705. But according to Varro (Servius on iii.12) the *penates* and the *di magni* are identical. He had seen the ascription on the base of a statue, which confirmed it. It may well have been open to the Roman reader to understand both. The whole phrase *penatibus ... dis* appears at iii.12, where Aeneas, defeated,

sets sail from conquered Troy, carrying with him the *penates* and *sacra* as instructed by the ghost of Hector (ii.293). It returns now when Augustus restores latter-day Troy in a great victory.

680–1. **stans ... puppi** appears as a half-line at iii.527, where Aeneas first catches sight of Italy and again at x.261, where Aeneas returns from Etruria to the aid of his beleaguered people. **geminas ... vomunt**: ‘whose rejoicing forehead spouts twin flames’. **cui** is dat. of reference* (see 631). **laeta**: transferred*; in literal terms it would most naturally agree with *cui*. **tempora**: A gleam of light round a warrior’s head, terrifying the enemy, goes back to *Il*.xviii.205. ‘Round Achilles’s shoulders Athena put the tasselled aegis, and she wound a cloud of gold round his head and from it kindled a gleaming flame ... so did the brilliant light from Achilles’s head reach up to heaven.’ ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε διὰ θεάων / χρύσειον, ἐκ δ’ αὐτοῦ δαΐε φλόγα παμφανώωσαν ... ὥς ἀπ’ Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ’ ἴκανε. Aeneas’s helmet, even before he puts it on (620) spouts fire (*flammas vomentem*). Where do the ‘twin’ fires come from? In vi.779 Romulus’s head is distinguished by ‘twin crests’, which are ‘the peculiar distinction of father (Jupiter)’ (780) – a curious phrase in itself. The twin crests appear again in Valerius Maximus, first-century CE author of a collection of historical anecdotes (i.8.6). A Roman victory was achieved in 282 BCE thanks to a mysterious warrior who could not be found after the battle: his distinguishing mark had been a helmet *duabus distincta pinnis*, ‘remarkable for its double crest’, which was held to prove that he was the god Mars. ‘Crests’ are not ‘flames’. But they may suggest flames. In vii.785 Turnus’s triple-crested helmet has the design of a Chimaera ‘breathing out flames of Etna’. When he puts it on at xii.89 the crest is described as bright red (*rubrae*). [The context of Book vi seems to suggest that Virgil is being inventive with marks of military distinction. Aeneas’s son Silvius, the second king of Alba Longa, is seen leaning on a *hasta pura*. There is debate about both the nature and purpose of this decoration (Maxfield *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* 84–6). His four successors (771f.) are all crowned *civili quercu*, an honour identified in lexis with the *civica corona*, in the classical period specifically granted for saving

the life of a citizen. It seems odd to find it worn indiscriminately by a succession of kings.] The two references (vi.779, viii.620) seem to be a preparation for the unusual reference to *geminas flammās*. Valerius's mention may be based on Livy, whose work is missing for the period, or may be a reminiscence of Virgil and provide no extra evidence. It seems at least possible that Augustus's 'twin flames' are a Virgilian combination of Achilles's light and Mars's (Jupiter's?) crests.

patrium sidus: In 44 BCE, after Caesar's death, Octavian (the future Augustus) celebrated the 'Victory Games of Caesar'. During these a comet appeared in the sky and was associated with the ascent of Caesar's spirit to heaven. When Caesar was declared a god in January 42 BCE, this 'star' was one of the signs of his divinity. Pliny says (*NH* ii.94) that Octavian arranged for a star to be attached to every statue of Caesar.

vertice: It is difficult to justify a translation 'above his head'; 'on his head' perhaps, but there is no image of Augustus which suggests that he allowed himself to be represented with the *sidus Iulium*, and while *vertex* can mean 'the vault of heaven' it seems always to need, for example, *caeli* to make this clear. Possibly i.114 *a vertice* can give the idea 'from just above' which would serve, but probably Virgil is being deliberately unspecific. **aperitur:** 'is revealed'.

Neither in the description of Augustus nor in that of Agrippa which follows is there any main verb. They are not 'doing' anything and so appear more as static images than other characters on the shield.

682. **parte alia:** transition phrase. **Agrippa** was a friend and colleague of Octavian's from before Caesar's death. He was a formidable soldier and administrator, and had combined these talents to build a fleet which he commanded in the crucial campaign (36 BCE) against Sextus Pompeius. For this he earned the *corona navalis* (684). **ventis ... secundis:** abl. abs*. 'with the wind .. in his favour': perhaps an allusion to the violent squall at Actium which damaged Antony's ships but did not touch Agrippa's (Dio 50.31.2).

683–4, describing Agrippa, match 680–1 on Augustus: half-line participial phrase, one and half lines relative clause introduced by *cui* and describing the head. **fulgent**: a distinction comparable to Augustus's, but a lesser one as being entirely naturalistic.

arduus: take with **agens**, as if an adverb: 'leading the line from high up', that is a paraphrase of *stans celsa in puppi*. (Compare the description of the wind *lenis crepitans* 'rustling gently', iii.70.) **belli ... superbum** 'a glorious token of war': take this phrase as referring to the whole of 684, 'accusative in apposition to the sentence' (GL324). **rostratā coronā**: literally 'beaked with a crown'; a deliberately paradoxical expression for the reverse, 'crowned with beaks' (**rostrum** 'beak' is the word for a ship's prow). The *corona navalis* was a circlet of projecting model ships' prows, as can be seen on coins (©Wikipedia 'Naval Crown').

685. **ope barbarica, variis armis**: the phrases are abl. of description* with **Antonius**. *ops* in Latin of the classical period is usually plural 'resources, wealth'. It has occurred in the singular earlier in this book, at 377, where Venus claims to have made no demand for arms requiring Vulcan's skill (*ars*) or resources (*ops*). **ope barbarica** is a reference to a famous passage in Ennius's *Andromacha*, lamenting the destruction of Troy: of Priam's palace, Andromache says *vidi ego te adstantem ope barbarica/tectis caelatis laqueatis* 'I saw you standing proud with outlandish wealth, with carved and coffered ceilings' (frg.94V). The adjectives *barbaricus* and *barbarus* can suggest 'foreign, weird and extravagant' (even when used by a foreigner, as Andromache is), 'foreign and uncivilized' (*Ecl.*i.71) or 'foreign and inhuman' (*A.*i.539). There will be a touch of all three in play here. The phrase may also be relevant to the propaganda of the period, according to which Antony was intending to set up a new capital for the Roman empire in Alexandria (Dio 50.4.1). **variis armis**: although the description of Antony parallels those of Augustus and Agrippa, and for these two we are told about their personal appearance, it seems that this phrase refers to Antonius's armies. Among these, in addition to many properly constituted legions with men of senatorial rank to command them, there were Egyptians

and representatives of a number of eastern kingdoms as described in Plutarch *Antony* 61. This is of course propaganda: non-Roman forces had played their part in Roman campaigns for a long time; Caesar's Gallic cavalry were deadly, and the regiment was later celebrated by Horace for its contribution at Actium (*Epode* 9.17–18).

686–8. **ab Aurorae populis ... ultima Bactra**: insofar as there is a precise reference here, it is to Antony's campaigns in Parthia and Armenia, 36 and 34 BCE, respectively. The former had been a disaster, and had forced Antony into greater dependence on Cleopatra for Egyptian money and resources than he might have wished. The latter had been more successful and led to the stabilization of the eastern frontier of the Roman empire under political arrangements which Augustus himself largely accepted. But the terms are very general. 'The peoples of the Dawn' and 'the might of the Orient' mean little. 'The Red Shore' refers no doubt to the 'Red Sea', which was a name given not only to our Red Sea but to the coastline of the Arabian Sea from Africa to India. Antony never set foot on the Red Sea's coasts. 'Egypt' can of course be pinned down to Cleopatra's kingdom and resources. **Bactra** (neut.pl.) is again fanciful: it is the capital of the Bactrian kingdom, now Balkh, outside Mazar-i-Sharif on the frontier between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The tone is partly that of sheer romance. Perhaps it increases Antony's status and therefore Augustus's in defeating him (Servius). Perhaps we also think of Roman disparagement of Oriental military capacity: Cato had claimed that the whole great war against Mithridates (intermittently from 88 to 62 BCE) had been fought *cum mulierculis* (Cicero *pro Murena* 31); cf. also *imbellem Indum* G.ii.172. Thus it makes light of such success as Antony claimed. **nefas** is a parenthesis as at x.673, almost an apology for uttering the shameful words ('an Egyptian bride!') which follow. Horace expressed a similar revulsion, professing himself shocked at the idea of one-time Roman soldiers sullyng themselves with oriental brides (*Odes* iii.5.5–6). Antony is not hereafter mentioned, and even Cleopatra is never named – as she is never named by the Augustan poets: commonly *regina* or simply *mulier*.

689–90. **una:** if any clear picture is presented by this word, it is that the three forces, represented by *hinc* (678), *parte alia* (682) and *hinc* (685) come together in the middle of the shield. **ruere** is historic infin. (cf. 492–3n.). **totum ... aequor:** A prose stylist would probably recommend the following order for these words: *aequor totum remis reductis rostrisque tridentibus convulsum spumare*. Notice how Virgil lends colour to the idea *convulsum*. For *ac* in 689 cf. 422n. with observations about the effect of *et* on the rhythm. **reductis** refers to an oarsman's movement in bringing the oar close up to his chest at the end of a stroke.

691–2. **alta petunt:** this seems to be the nearest Virgil comes to an explanation of the strategy of the battle: that Antony was attempting to break out of the gulf of Ambracia. But the subj. of *alta petunt* is *omnes*, not just Antony's ships. **credas:** a vivid method of introducing a simile*, unique in Virgil. **Cycladas:** the name for the island group in the Aegean south-east of Athens, so called because they are 'in a circle' around Delos. **revulsas:** 'torn up' from the bottom of the sea. The enjambment* illustrates the idea. (The notion of floating islands has a special relevance for the Cyclades, because in mythology Delos had been such until it was secured to the sea bottom as a reward for having been the birth place of Apollo and Diana.) The comparison of ships to islands may have been part of the popular talk about the battle, given that it recurs in Dio 50.33.8 – unless Dio got it from Virgil.

693. **tanta mole:** (i) instrumental* abl. with *instant*. 'The crews press forward with such effort in their turreted ships' (Conington, Eden, Gransden). (ii) abl. of description* with *puppibus*: 'In such massively towered ships did the warriors press their attack' (Williams, Fordyce). (i) avoids having one abl. phrase depend, perhaps awkwardly, on another, but requires *mole* to be translated 'effort'. But *moles* in Virgil almost invariably means 'physical mass'. The only (very important!) occasion where it clearly refers to effort is i.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, and there it is surely to be thought of as a metaphor*. Here, where the point of the comparison in *tanta* is with masses of rock (*Cycladas*), it is very hard to imagine *moles* with a different significance.

In favour of (ii) there is a good parallel for *instat* ('press the attack') where it is used of Hercules at 250, also ix.171.

turritis: Dio (50.23.2–3) describes how Antony hugely increased the size of his ships shortly before the battle, and towers added to the already gigantic mass.

tanta can be thought of as introducing a (reversed) sentence with a result clause: 'so huge were they that you might think ...', or as an exclamation 'such huge mass!'.

694–5. **stuppea ... spargitur:** 'Flame made from tow and the flying steel of missiles is scattered by hand (/by force)'. It looks as if this is a complicated description by hendiadys of the weapon called *malleolus*. It consisted of tow (coarse, broken fibre of flax) covered in pitch, set on fire and attached to a shaft for throwing. **telis volatile ferrum:** think of *volatile* as a participle and *telis* as abl. of description* 'in the form of missiles' – but it seems a strained phrase even given Virgil's free use of the ablative (Fordyce on vii.639). For the dreadful effect of the *malleoli* see Dio 50.34.

nova = *recenti*, 'freshly shed'.

696. **in mediis** (sc. **pugnantibus**). If Plutarch (*Antony*, 83.5) and Dio (50.33.1) are to be believed, Cleopatra was never in the thick of battle but riding at anchor behind, looking out for a chance to escape. If Antony was to regain his position at Rome, it would never do to have won the battle thanks to Cleopatra, so it could well have been a considered tactic to leave her in the rear. Equally, to have her in the thick of battle suits the Augustan point of view, which presented the war as one against a foreign enemy, and that of the poet, who is looking for a dramatic confrontation of Egypt and Rome.

patrio sistro: the *sistrum* is a small hand-held percussion instrument, used in the worship of Isis among other Egyptian gods. It is excellently illustrated in Wikipedia 'sistrum'. Compared with the *cornua* whose raucous bray Turnus used to summon his forces in viii.2, the *sistrum*

would make a feeble noise (*crepitare* in Propertius iii.11.43); it looks as if *patrio sistro* is deliberate bathos*.

697. **necdum etiam**: ‘nor yet indeed’ The words, used in Catullus 64.55 by Ariadne unable yet to believe that Theseus has abandoned her, emphasize the idea that the ‘twin snakes’ are a portent of doom. Two snakes are sent by Hera to kill the infant Hercules; two snakes are sent to kill Laocoon (ii.203–4) and two snakes are used by the Fury Allecto to madden Turnus (vii.450); the phrase is *gemini angues* (nom.or acc.) on each occasion. If here they foreshadow Cleopatra’s death in its traditional form by asp, Virgil is alone in suggesting more than one snake, but even the hint can make the point that the death of Cleopatra and the fall of Egypt to Augustus is an answer to the fall of Troy to the Greeks.

698. **omnigenum deum monstra**: ‘monsters consisting in gods of every kind’ (‘defining’* genitive though not so named in GL361n.3). Egyptian gods could be found in the shape of a cow (Hathor), a cat (Bastet), a crocodile (Sobek) and others. Anubis the dog-headed god with his yelping is presumably named as an extreme of the type. *Omnigenum* is gen.pl. of an adj. *omnigenus* ‘of all kinds’ found only here in Virgil; the *-um* form of the genitive as in *magnanimum* vi.307, etc.

699. **Neptunum** – because the battle takes place in his sphere of authority, **Venerem** – as Aeneas’s mother, **Minervam** – because, of the ‘Capitoline triad’ Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, Jupiter’s intervention is kept until xii and Juno is still unreconciled, while Minerva is the Roman manifestation of the Homeric war goddess Pallas Athena.

700–3. The gods who now appear seem to do so not in any capacity of supporting Rome, but as representing the horrors of war. Mars’s appearance (**Mavors**, 630) ‘carved in iron’ (*his metal*, cf. 648) contains a sudden reminder of the Shield as a work of art, but his battle-fury (*saevit*) recalls his wicked (*impius*) raging in G.i.511. The **Dirae** are the Greek *Erinyes*, the Furies, spirits of revenge, but their function is expanded by Virgil into promoters of strife, as one of them, Allecto, does

in vii. (It is not clear whether *Dirae* is subj. of *saeviunt*, understood out of *saevit* 700, or of *vadunt*, understood out of *vadit* 702. Perhaps both.) **Discordia** appears in the company of War and the Furies at the gateway to Hades (vi.279–80), there herself given the appearance of a Fury and the epithet *demens* ‘crazed’. Elsewhere in Virgil *discordia* is strife *within* a community (e.g. *E.i*.71, *A.xii*.883). Virgil seems to be acknowledging, in the middle of his presentation of Actium as a battle against foreigners, that it was also a civil war. Discord’s ripped cloak visualizes her love of conflict. **vadit**: ‘strides’ – of a purposeful, determined walk (ii.359, vi.263). **Bellona** was a war goddess with a substantial temple just below the Capitol (Richardson 57). To her was assimilated the Cappadocian goddess Ma; her devotees in this manifestation were fanatics, hacking themselves with axes to provide blood-offerings (Tibullus i.45–8, Horace *Satires* ii.3.223). Her whip may come from the one which Ares wields in Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 642.

704. **Actius ... Apollo**: A powerful apparently self-contained line, with hyperbaton* of first with last word and alliteration* of first word, last word and word following the caesura*. Apollo had had a temple on Actium at least since the fifth century BCE (Thucydides i.29.3). Augustus was already building his temple to Apollo on the Palatine (see below); Apollo’s help at Actium was confirmation of his favour. **intendebat**: the first narrative imperfect tense since 674. We have been ourselves embroiled in the conflict with its present tenses; now we stand back and watch: ‘Apollo was drawing his bow’. It is a decisive moment.

705–6. **desuper**: the enjambment* is all the more emphatic for being syntactically unnecessary and a surprise. He is ‘above’ the battle, presumably above the *Dirae* who were themselves coming *ex aethere*, but there is probably no profit in trying to use this to place him on the shield.

The rout begins. The tricolon* with members introduced by anaphora* *omnis, omnes, omnis* suggests it is total; confusion is created by the variety of singular (*Arabs*) and plural (*Sabaei*), whole country (*Aegyptus*) and occupants (*Indi*), and length of phrase. The **Sabaei** inhabited the

Yemen, 'Arabia Felix', rich on the frankincense trade. Virgil is ignoring the huge number of Roman soldiers under Antony's command both by land and at sea. ('Thirty legions' (Syme, *Roman Revolution* 295)).

707. **videbatur** 'could be seen', like *cernere erat* (676).

708. **vela dare** and **laxos ... funes** constitute a hendiadys*. The way to 'set a sail' when the mast is already raised is to slacken (*immittere*) the brailing lines (*funes*) which hold the sail close to the yard.

709. **caedes**: 'carnage'. **pallentem morte futura** is probably intended to remind us of Dido *pallida morte futura* at iv.644. For a negative reading of Dido, making her a suitable type* of the scheming Cleopatra, see N. Horsfall in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (1990) 127–44.

710. For **fecerat** followed by infin. see on 630f. **undis et Iapyge**: the current on the east coast of the Adriatic flows towards the north-west, contrary to Cleopatra's desired direction, so *undis* must refer to the waves raised by the *Iapyx*, a wind blowing from the north-west, one which would later help Virgil on his voyage to Greece (Horace *Odes* i.3.4).

711. **contra**: opposite (her) **magno ... Nilum**: (i) *magno corpore* is abl. of description* with *Nilum*: 'the huge-bodied Nile'; (ii) *magno corpore* instrumental* abl. with *maerentem*. (i) is easier to understand, but *maerentem*, between *magno* and *corpore*, is naturally construed with those two words, so that (ii) is easier as syntax, but tests the imagination: 'revealing his grief by his body'. (ii) seems preferable. The Nile is represented as in the statue of Tiberinus (see 31–5n.). Note too how the Tiber, which plays an important part in the early passages of the book, is balanced by the Nile, which plays an important part towards the end.

712. **sinus** (acc.) can refer to the inlets of the river or the folds of the *vestis*.

713. **latebrosa**: for example, because of all the various separate streams of the Nile delta.

victos: placed with heavy emphasis at the end of the Actium passage. The emphasis is the greater because the one word *victos* balances the whole of the rest of the line, which is formed by a single phrase following *in*. In this word and in the presentation of the grieving Nile there seems to be an expression of sympathy for the misery of defeat.

714–28. Victory celebrations; Augustus's triple triumph. This took place on 13, 14 and 15 August 29 BCE. The first day celebrated Octavian's successes in Dalmatia (modern Croatia) in 35 and 34 BCE, the second his victory at Actium and the third that at Alexandria in 30. Triumphal processions ended at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, but this passage telescopes history in an imaginary parade before the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was not dedicated until 9 October 28. The parade is as much about what the Augustan empire aspires to be as what it is, and thus leads on to the epilogue, where Aeneas takes up the shield and the destiny of Rome.

714–15. **Romana moenia** = *urbem Romam*. **dis Italis:** these shrines are to be in the city (716), so 'Italian gods' include 'Roman gods', a continuation of the policy of harmonization. **votum sacrabat:** a vow is 'solemnized' when it is uttered before a god and sanctions are invited from the god should the person vowing fail to fulfil his vow.

716. **ter centum:** 'Three hundred' can refer to any large number; cf. iv.510. Augustus himself claimed to have built twelve new ones (*Res Gestae* 19) and to have restored 82 (*RG* 20.4).

717. **ludis:** for example, the games held on 18 August 29 for the dedication of the temple of Divus Julius: chariot races, gladiatorial contests, wild beast shows including a rhinoceros (*Dio* li.22.4) and, specially commissioned at an enormous price for the occasion, Varius's tragedy *Thyestes* (*HD* Jocelyn, CQ1980, 387). (On the details of the lengthy celebrations see Binder 264f.) **matrum chorus:** probably like the 110 matrons who provided sacred feasts at the Secular Games in 17 BCE (Lewis & Reinhold *Roman Civilization* vol ii, 58). **arae:** the implication is not that sometimes there was no *ara*, but that Vulcan has portrayed them.

720. Octavian had for some time had a special relationship with Apollo (Zanker *The Power of Images* 49). He made a vow to build this temple in 36 BCE (see on 530). It was built out of solid marble from Luna (Servius on this line), the fine white stone from which Michelangelo made his sculptures. In the perspective of the *Aeneid*, Augustus thus fulfils the vow made by Aeneas to the Sibyl at Cumae: *Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum instituat* (vi.69f) ‘I shall set up a pure marble temple to Phoebus and Trivia’ (Trivia is a name for Apollo’s sister Diana). In **Phoebi** the god is identified with his temple, so that **niveo** and **candentis** describe the same thing and mean the same – reinforcement by repetition.

721–2. **superbis postibus**: *postes* are originally the two vertical members on either side of the doorway, supporting the lintel, but the word comes to be used for the whole door. Doorways are used for posting evidence of success. Latinus’s palace (vii.183–6) has an immense variety of military trophies fixed to its doors, including ships’ prows, foreshadowing the *corona navalis* of viii.684. Aeneas himself ironically left a Greek shield fixed to the door of the temple at Actium after a year’s stay there (iii.288). Cacus fixed the heads of his murdered victims to his own doors – *foribus superbis*.

On *superbus* see 118n. Its use here, emphasized by the enjambment*, seems to be in part an answer to Cacus – in Augustus, *superbia* is welcome. The doors of the temple were actually decorated with ivory reliefs of the defeat of a Gallic attack on Delphi (Propertius ii.31.13f).

723. ‘as different in their style of dress and armour as in their languages’. Virgil’s choice of peoples, nominally *victae gentes*, is less concerned with the idea that they have had anything to do with Antony than with his wish to show the remoteness of the Empire’s boundaries and the diversity of its subjects. They are however imagined as participants in the triumphal procession: we should take Virgil’s hint and imagine them for ourselves, not only the peoples, but also the rivers. That they too were represented by illustrations, performers or models is clear

from Ovid *Ars Amatoria* i.223f, where the lover describes to his girl the 'rivers' as they pass by: 'Here is the Euphrates with his reed-bound forehead; the one with the pendant blue hair is the Tigris'.

724. **Nomadum:** *nomades* is a Greek word; it means 'nomads', 'people who move around in search of grazing'. It is Latinized into *Numidae* and acquires a geographical setting in eastern Algeria. **Afros:** 'Africa' in Roman terms refers to modern Tunisia and western Libya. **discinctos:** that is with loose, flowing robes, which may have been a cliché of African appearance: a Carthaginian is addressed in Plautus *Poenulus* 1008 'Hey you, the man without a belt'. **Mulciber:** an alternative name for Vulcan, in Virgil only here. Associated with *mulceo* 'soothe', it represents him in a gentler form.

725. **Lelegas Carasque** (both Greek acc. masc.): pre-Greek peoples of south-west Turkey. They are mentioned together in *Iliad* x.428f. **Gelonos:** a people of the plains north of the Black Sea, just beyond the Crimea, which constituted a partly Hellenized kingdom and was a client state of Rome.

726. **mollior:** see on 559 *inexpletus* for the adj. being treated as adv. The Euphrates might be expected to be rough and ungentle because it was the border with the rival kingdom of Parthia. The implication here is that the Parthians have been brought under control. In fact, Antony's Parthian campaign of 36 BCE had been a disaster, and Augustus never engaged in military action against them. Dio however records diplomatic negotiations as having taken place in 30 BCE while Augustus was still in the east (li.18).

727. We presumably have to imagine *ibant* as a verb for 728f.

The **Morini** were a coastal tribe on the border of France and Belgium. In the continental empire they can be described as **extremi**; Caesar's British expeditions are disregarded. **Rhenus:** the Rhine is two-horned because rivers are conventionally bull-shaped (cf. *corniger* 77) and/or (Servius) because of the two main streams of the Rhine delta.

728. The **Dahae** are said to have been a tribe living east of the Caspian in what is now Turkmenistan. They appear in Livy xxxv.48.5 (192 BCE) as ‘a name terrifying because it had never previously been uttered’. The **Araxes** is now the Aras, forming the frontier between Armenia and Iran. Antony had crossed it twice during his Parthian campaign; there is no good evidence for attempts to build a bridge – but that may be the point. ‘The Dahae will not brook the yoke (**indomiti**), the Araxes [will not tolerate a] bridge, yet both have yielded to Caesar’ (Page, quoted by Gransden). (Does the illustration of the river in the procession represent it as resisting the imposition of a bridge? How?)

729–31. Epilogue. The account of the shield has ended in something of an anticlimax, as if the tail end of the procession trails past with its least important members. With Aeneas left unnamed, the three-line epilogue too seems distinctly low-key – until the weight of the last line (to which the whole ecphrasis* has been building up) sinks in. At the end of Book ii Aeneas picks up his father on his shoulders: he is preserving the past. Here he picks up an infinitely heavier burden, the future, the destiny of his people. The Roman reader will also have been reminded of the golden shield which the senate dedicated to Augustus on 26 January 27 BCE, recording his ‘courage, clemency, justice and piety’ (RG34).

729–30. **Talia ... miratur**: the words bring the shield ecphrasis to a close. There is no word for Aeneas as subject of *miratur*, but the verb recalls *miratur* in 617 which was the last verb to have him as subject. ‘Ignorant of the things (he has seen) he takes delight in their depiction’. There is an element of pathos here: Aeneas strives to realize a future which he cannot understand and in which he cannot participate. Realization and understanding must await his descendant Augustus.

731. **famamque et fata**: the alliteration* and the archaic* combination of *-que* and *et* draws attention to the phrase; it is weakened if we simply think of it as hendiadys*: ‘the glorious destiny’.

Appendix: Caesar, Catiline and Cato

On the face of it, it seems clear what Virgil is presenting by his mention of Catiline and Cato: the divide between those who stand up for settled government and those who oppose it. But Cato's other opponent was Augustus's 'father' Julius Caesar. Defeated in 46 BCE when fighting against Caesar's forces, Cato preferred a dreadful suicide to accepting Caesar's pardon; he became a Republican hero. Where does Augustus, Caesar's heir, stand on this issue?

In fact Caesar's rôle in the Augustan scheme is ambiguous. Like Augustus himself, he had profited from civil war. And Augustus's rise to power would hardly have taken place if the legions of Caesar's army had not to a very large extent transferred their allegiance to him. This was a debt which Augustus had acknowledged by merciless pursuit of Caesar's murderers and by having Caesar recognized as a god of the Roman state. Nevertheless, if the period before Actium was all about acquiring power, the following years were about maintaining it, by the creation of an ordered state where law and constitutional authority could seem to prevail. In this altered state of affairs the memory of Caesar was a problem. When he appears in the underworld as one of the souls awaiting birth, Anchises seems to attribute responsibility for civil war to him and to reproach him for it (vi.835, a dramatically unfinished line). Livy's remark 'it is open to question whether Caesar's birth was a good or bad thing for the world' (Seneca *Quaest. Nat.*v.18.4) evidently did him no harm with Augustus. In this ambience Cato became admirable, even respectable (Horace *Odes* i.12.35–6, ii.1.23). Apart from other aspects, he was famous (and teased: Cicero *pro Murena* 61–2, etc.) for his devotion to a rigid interpretation of Stoicism which made much of a sharp distinction between right and wrong: this made him all the more suitable as a judge in the underworld. (Better there, Augustus might have said, than in the real world, just as Caesar was safer as an ally in heaven than on earth.)

The sudden appearance of two characters from recent history (666–70) is nonetheless surprising in so important a context. Virgil's choice of Catiline and Cato as types of political virtue and vice is almost certainly determined by the influence of a powerful monograph *Bellum Catilinae* by the historian Sallust, written some twenty years earlier. The crisis it described was, however, now forty years past and of no great importance compared with many of the other crises which the Roman world had suffered since. So there is a temptation to observe that in the last years of Virgil's life an oddly similar situation arose, in the form of the 'conspiracy' of Egnatius Rufus (Velleius ii.91–2; Dio liii.24). Egnatius was elected aedile, a relatively junior post in which his responsibilities will have included maintenance of the fabric of the city. He made a great name for himself by forming a fire brigade of his own slaves; he evidently held that in the renewed republic this gave him a good claim to higher office. In 19 BCE he stood for the consulship against the wishes of the Augustan political and military establishment, to whom such a display of independence was intolerable. It is not clear whether he was voted in; in any case, the officiating consul refused to accept him as a candidate; he had him arrested and then executed. If Egnatius prompted Virgil to think of Catiline and Cato, we have at viii.668–70 some of the last lines composed by Virgil.

Another line of approach is this. The climax of the *Bellum Catilinae* is a senatorial debate held on 5 December 63 BCE: the issue was 'what should happen to Catiline's known senatorial associates?' Caesar opposed the death penalty, but in an uncompromising speech Cato persuaded the senate to have them executed. Virgil's presentation of Cato here invites approval of his actions in relation to Catiline. 'The opponents of government could have been spared, but were not, and rightly so.' In the last lines of the *Aeneid* Turnus could have been spared, but was not. (See J.J. O'Hara, in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition* (2010) p.105.)

Index of Terms

Numbers, except where otherwise indicated, refer to the line of Virgil's text.

Entries under grammatical terms contain references to the relevant section of grammars: Gildersleeve and Lodge, and Bennett's New Latin Grammar.

Entries under metrical terms normally refer to the relevant section of the Introduction.

Entries under literary terms contain a brief explanation of the term.

- ablative.** (i) of attendant circumstances (NLG 221, GL399): 216, 359, 391; (ii) of cause (NLG219, GL408): 215, 393, 475, 556 (iii) of description or quality (NLG224–6, GL400): 31, 193, 197, 207, 208, 219–20, 233, 277, 330, 351, 432, 438, 599, 685, 693, 694, 711 (iv) instrumental (NLG218, GL401): 12, 211, 277, 375, 409, 418, 426, 533, 684, 693, 711, (v) of origin or source (NLG 215: 'from,' GL395): 36, 315, 624; (vi) of place (NLG228–9, GL385): 38, 150, 223, 232, 234, 271, 280, 297, 381, 419, 421, 426, 610; (vii) of respect (GL397, cf. NLG 226): 318; (viii) of separation (NLG214, GL390): 8, 31, 89, 261, 571; (ix) of time: (NLG230–1, GL393) 215, 583; (x) ablative absolute (NLG227, GL409–10): 167, 255, 280, 438, 470, 510, 682.
- accent.** The emphasis natural to a word in itself (see Intro. pp. 58–9), as opposed to **ictus**, the emphasis generated by the metre. 257–8, 267, 301, 382, 388, 424, 447, 452, 489–90, 549, 626.
- accusative:** (i) of inner object (NLG 176.2 (Note), GL332.2 n.6): 248; (ii) of respect (NLG180 ('Synecdochical'), GL338) 29, 114, 286, 425; (iii) retained (NLG175.2d, GL338.1) 29, 265, 457, 618, 662.
- aetiology.** Telling a story from the mythical past in order to explain the existence of a present-day practice or institution. 184, 268, 345, 506, 600.
- alliteration, assonance, consonance.** Use of these terms is not fixed hard and fast. Suggested: use 'alliteration' for an effect created by initial repeated sounds: 88: *mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis*, and 'assonance' for an effect created by repeated sounds in other contexts: 230 *dentibus infrendens* (see above), also 43, 48, 82–3, 88–9, 97, 201–2, 214, 263, 325, 326, 334, 335–6, 418–19, 421–2, 521, 549, 570–1, 576–7, 704.

anacoluthon. When the syntax of a sentence is interrupted. 'If you cross the road now – but the lights have changed.' (565–6n.) 403, 564–6.

anaphora. Connection of sentences/phrases not by a conjunction or particle but by repetition of a word at the beginning: *ter* in 230–2. Also 150–1, 161, 185–6, 231–2, 243, 376, 564–6, 570–1. Several of these are also instances of **polyptoton**.

anastrophe. When a (disyllabic) preposition is placed after the word it governs: *quos inter*: 'and among them.' 297, 310.

apostrophe. When a character suddenly turns to address someone new; often of when an author addresses his own characters. 643: *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*. ('But you should have stood by your word, man of Alba.') 84, 572, 668.

apposition. when a word or phrase is tagged onto another without connection and usually serving as an explanation: 'my friend the Prime Minister': 27, 51, 77.

archaic, archaism. Use of a word or phrase outdated by the time a piece is written. 127: *Graiugenum* for standard *Graiugenarum*. 43, 94, 98, 160, 228, 630, 659, 679, 731.

assonance. See 'alliteration'.

asyndeton. When parallel expressions have no connecting word. 'She starts, she moves, she seems to feel/The thrill of life along her keel'. 246: *cernatur, trepidant*. Cf. **polysyndeton**. 266–7.

bathos. A deliberate lapse from intensity into triviality. 696.

brevis in longo: a short vowel appearing in a place which would normally be occupied by a long: 98 *procūl*; see note.

caesura: word-break inside a foot; 'strong' if after the first syllable, 'weak' if between the shorts of a dactyl. 131–3n., 257, 267, 275, 390, 422, 447, 540, 580, 704.

chiasmus. 'The oranges are for you; for me the apples.' The second phrase repeats the first in its overall structure, but reverses the component parts (AB,BA). 271–2: (A) *quae maxima semper* (B) *dicetur ... et* (B) *erit* (A) *quae maxima semper* ('which will always be called "greatest" and which will be greatest.') 17, 334, 540, 649.

connecting relative: use of the relative pronoun to connect two sentences:

cuius ubi patrem conspexi....: 'and when I saw her father ...' 239,

cum inversum (NLG 288.2, GL581): 28–30, 98, 276, 337, 520.

dative (i) of agent (NLG189, GL215, 354): 169, 195, 441 (ii) of direction/'local' (NLG193; GL358): 123, 591; (iii) of separation (NLG188 2(d), GL345 Rem 1): 566; (iii) of 'object for which' (NLG191, GL356n.2): 150, 418; (iv) possessive (NLG190, GL349): 71, 104, 150, 198, 316, 426, 472, 659; (v) predicative or 'double' dative (NLG 191.2, GL356): 536; (vi) of reference (NLG188, GL352–3): 42, 160, 169, 212, 219, 631, 680.

diaeresis: word-break corresponding with the end of a foot. 'bucolic' where it corresponds with the end of the fourth foot: 242, 422, 562.

ecphrasis. (a) description of a work of art: the shield at the end of Book viii, (b) more generally, a self-contained descriptive passage often creating a pause in the action. 233, 416, 597, 625, 729–31n.

elision: When a word ending in a vowel or vowel + *-m* precedes a word beginning with vowel or *h*, the last syllable of the first word is ignored for metrical purposes: *advect(um) Aenean* (11). 27, 96, 133, 210, 228, 242, 298, 367, 503.

ellipsis. Omission of words, so that an expression is syntactically incomplete, but still intelligible: 'I can no more' with omission of 'do'. 82, 523, 543.

end-stopped. Of a line where break in syntax coincides with end of line. Cf. **enjambment**. 78, 188–9.

epanalepsis. Repetition for emphasis, different from anaphora in that it does not function as a connector. See *quae maxima semper* in 271–2, also 141.

enjambment. When the sense continues over the line-end. This may have a relatively weak effect: 119–20 *lectos / Dardaniae venisse duces* ([tell him that] chosen leaders of Troy have come) or a strong one: 238–9 *inde repente / impulit* (Then suddenly / he struck it.) Also 86–7, 98, 204–5, 215–16, 239, 241–2, 255–6, 293, 352–3, 362–3, 375, 388–9, 411–12, 443–4, 447–8, 561–2, 691–2, 705–6, 721–2.

epiphonema: A brief sentence (often a single line) to wind up a passage. 101, 125, 369.

figura etymologica: Where two words from the same root appear next to each other for effect: *sed mea me virtus* 131, 239.

genitive. (i) appositive or defining (NLG 202, GL361): 44, 231, 479, 698; (ii) objective (NLG 200, GL363): 144, 251, 393, 395, 514; (iii) partitive (NLG 201.2, GL367–72): 127, 206, 221; (iv) possessive (NLG195.2, GL362): 144, 186, 514, 555; (v) ‘of quality’ (NLG 203.1, GL365): 48, 186.

hendiadys. When a single idea is presented as if it were two separate ones.

225: *ferro et arte paterna* (by iron and his father’s skill = by his father’s skill in ironworking): 40, 177, 201, 220–1, 226, 288, 315, 356, 364–5, 410, 431, 433, 436, 463, 490, 500, 508–9, 708, 731.

homoioteleuton. ‘Similar endings’: a rhyming effect. 262, 646–8.

hypallage or **transferred epithet.** 525: *Tyrrhenusque tubae clangor*, ‘the Etruscan bray of the trumpet’ for ‘the bray of the Etruscan trumpet’. 108n, 118, 526, 542–3, 681.

hyperbaton. From a Gk. word ‘transgression’. (i) When a word is displaced into a phrase which is not its own: 168: *frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas* (two golden bits which my Pallas now possesses). *Aurea* agrees with *frena*, so comes unexpectedly inside the *quae* clause; *meus* with *Pallas* so unexpectedly outside it. (ii) When an epithet agrees with its noun across intervening words: 230 *totum* agrees with 231 *montem*. (Of course 168 *meus* and *aurea* are covered by this definition too.) 82–3, 110, 168, 204–5, 222–3n., 225–6, 335–6, 352–3, 386, 500–1, 526, 531, 639, 678, 704.

hyperbole. Exaggeration. 99–100: *caelo aequavit* (‘... has put on a level with heaven’) of the Palatine hill. 149, 239–40, 243–6.

hypermetric line. A hexameter with more than two syllables in the sixth foot. See Intro. p. 60. 128

hysteron proteron. Gk.: ‘The later earlier.’ When two events are referred to in reverse order. 201: *auxilium adventumque dei*, (the help and arrival of a god); the god must arrive before he helps. (But see note.) 83, 85, 201, 611.

ictus. Metrical emphasis; see **accent** and Intro pp. 58–9.

infinitive, historic (NLG 335, GL647): 35, 215.

litotes. When less is said than is meant. 48, 370, 627.

- metaphor.** Use of a term appropriate for one context in another. 93, of ships *innare* 'to swim' (involving personification of the ships). 220, 292, 307, 405, 418, 421, 443, 500, 570, 584, 659, 693n.
- metonymy.** When something is referred to not as itself but as something recognizably associated with it. 181: *Bacchumque ministrant*. (They serve the wine.) 'Wine' is given the name of its patron god, also 56, 89, 91, 114, 385, 409.
- onomatopoeia.** Accommodating sound to sense. 223 *fugit ilicet ocior Euro* for Cacus running away. 527.
- oxymoron.** An expression whose elements appear to contradict each other: 'I am the enemy you killed, my friend'. 198, 494.
- parataxis.** When ideas are expressed as independent of one another and the connection is made by the reader/listener. 'She saw the fire. She ran into the house. She rescued the child.' When the connexion is made by the words themselves we have '**hypotaxis**': 'Seeing the fire, she ran into the house to rescue the child.' (Compare the hypotactic style of 225–30 with the paratactic style of 251–5.) 520, 603–7.
- period.** 'A long sentence in which the completion of the syntax and sense is delayed to the end' (Baldick). 560–71.
- periphrasis.** When more words are used than are strictly necessary for communication. 68–9: *aetherii spectans orientia solis lumina*: 'gazing at the rising light of the heavenly sun' for 'gazing at the sunrise', also 23, 205, 421, 458.
- personification.** When inanimate objects are treated as animate: 240: *refluitque exterritus amnis*. 89, 181, 296, 346, 424, 508.
- polyptoton.** When different parts (cases, tenses etc.) of the same word are used in a deliberate sequence. 185: *haec sollemnia ..., has ... dapes, hanc ... aram* (these rites, this festivity, this altar). Here used as a connection, very like **anaphora**.
- polysyndeton.** When every component of a list is joined by a conjunction. 94–6, 422.
- praeteritio.** When a speaker suggests he will not say something but then does say it. 483.
- proleptic.** Gk: 'anticipatory'. When an idea is presented in narrative before it becomes true. 260–1: *angit ... siccum sanguine guttur*. ('He squeezed his dry-of-blood throat' = 'he squeezed his throat till it was dry ...') Also 118, 260, 368, 460.

- ring-composition:** A technique whereby a passage is rounded off by a repetition of the words or ideas that began it. 189 *servati* begins the story of Cacus; 269 *servavere* concludes it; 497, 536.
- scan, scansion:** The process of noting the pattern of long and short syllables in a line, thus identifying the metre. 58, 143, 167.
- simile.** An (often extensive) comparison. 22–5, 243–6, 391–2, 407–13, 449n, 589–91, 691.
- spondeiazon.** A hexameter with a spondee instead of a dactyl in the fifth foot. 54, 167, 341, 402.
- subjunctive.** (i) potential (NLG 280, GL257): 50; (ii) of purpose (NLG 282.2, GL630): 10, 13, 548; (iii) of implied indirect speech (NLG 323, GL541): 130, 323, 650, 651; (iv) jussive (NLG 275 1, GL260 ‘Optative’): 579, 643,
- supine in –u** (GL436, NLG 340.2): 234, 252, 565.
- syllipsis.** Requiring a single word to perform two tasks simultaneously. ‘The thunder broke the silence and a window.’ A sort of syntactical pun. 67, 386.
- syncope:** not strictly a metrical term, but a phenomenon caused by the exigencies of metre: a form of the verb which would be cumbersome is abbreviated; for example, line 279, *optastis* for *optavistis*. 107, 118, 192, 222, 242, 335–6, 530, 571, 599, 600.
- synecdoche.** When the term for a part of something is used for the whole. In 44 *capita* (heads) is used to refer to individual young pigs. 374.
- synizesis:** two successive vowels in the interior of a word are scanned together as one, for example, 194: *sēmihōmīnis*. 292, 372, 383, 553.
- theme and variation.** When an idea is repeated in different words. 190–2, 515–7, 617, 627.
- tricolon:** A group of three parallel expressions, often growing towards the last (‘tricolon crescendo’). ‘I came, I saw, I conquered.’ See 201–3, note. And for a tricolon diminuendo, see 230–2. Also 71, 167, 215–16, 231–2, 502–3, 580–2, 705.
- type:** a character in history or mythology who acts as a predecessor, demonstrating the characteristics of his successor: Aeneas of Augustus; Cacus (perhaps) of Antony. 343–4n, 709.

Index of Names

Numbers after entries refer to lines of the Latin text.

- Achātēs** (-ae) *m.* Achates,
companion of Aeneas: 466, 521, 586
- Actius** -a -um *adj.* of Actium: 675,
704
- Aegyptius** -a -um *adj.* Egyptian: 688
- Aegyptus** -ī *f.* Egypt: 687, 705
- Aeneadae** -ārum *m.* sons of Aeneas:
341, 648
- Aenēās** -ae (*acc.* Aenēān)
m. Aeneas: 29, 84, 115, 126 etc.
- Aeolius** -a -um *adj.* belonging to
Aeolus, lord of the winds: 416, 454
- Aetnaeus** -a -um *adj.* associated
with Mount Etna: 786
- Āfrī** -ōrum *m.* Africans: 724
- Agrippa** -ae *m.* Agrippa, associate
of Augustus: 682
- Agyllinus** -a -um *adj.* 'of Agylla';
Agylla is an old name for Caere in
Etruria: 479
- Alba** -ae *f.* (the city) Alba Longa: 48
- Albānus** -a -um *adj.* from Alba
Longa: 643
- Albula** -ae *f.* Albula, ancient name
of the Tiber: 332
- Alcīdēs** -ae *m.* = Hercules: 203, 219,
249, 256, 363
- Alpīnus** -a -um *adj.* Alpine: 661
- Amphitryōniadēs** -ae *m.* son of
Amphitryon, that is Hercules: 103,
214
- Anchīsēs** -ae *m.* Anchises, Aeneas's
father: 156, 163
- Anchīsiadēs** -ae *adj. masc.* son of
Anchises: 521
- Antōnius** -ī *m.* Antonius, Mark
Antony: 685
- Anūbis** -is *m.* a dog-headed
Egyptian god: 698
- Apollō** -inis *m.* the god Apollo: 336,
704
- Arabs** -is *adj.* Arabian: 706
- Araxēs** -is *m.* the Armenian river
Araxes: 728
- Arcadia** -ae *f.* Arcadia, region in
the Peloponnese, Evander's home:
159
- Arcadius** -a -um *adj.* Arcadian: 573
- Arcas** **Arcadis** *adj.* Arcadian: 51,
102, 129
- Argiletum** -ī *n.* Argiletum, a street
in Rome: 345
- Argolicus** -a -um *adj.* coming from
Argos, Greek: 374
- Argus** -ī *m.* name of Evander's
murdered guest: 346
- Ascanius** -ī *m.* Ascanius, Aeneas's
son: 48, 550, 629
- Atlantis** -idis *or (Gk)*
-idos *f.* daughter of Atlas: 135
- Atlās** **Atlantis** *m.* Atlas, the giant
who holds up the sky: 136, 140, 141
- Atridae** -ārum *m.* the sons
of Atreus, Agamemnon and
Menelaus: 130
- Augustus** -ī *m.* Augustus: 678
- Aurōra** -ae *f.* Aurora, the Dawn: 686
- Ausonius** -a -um *adj.* Ausonian, *old*
word for Italian: 328
- Auster Austrī** *m.* the south wind:
430
- Aventīnus** -ī *m.* the Aventine (hill):
231
- Bacchus** -ī *m.* Bacchus, the wine god,
the Greek Dionysus, 181 'wine'
- Bactra** -ōrum *n.pl.* Bactra, city in
central Asia, modern Balkh: 688

- Bellōna -ae f.** the war-goddess
Bellona: 703
- Brontēs m.** Brontes, one of the Cyclopes: 425
- Cācus -ī m.** Cacus, son of Vulcan, the giant killed by Hercules: 194, 205, 218, 222, 241, 259, 303
- Caere -ītis m.** Caere, an Etruscan city: 597
- Caesar -is m.** Caesar (Augustus): 678, 714
- Capitōlium -ī n.** the Capitol (hill), also pl.: 347
- Cāres -um m., acc. Cārās** Carians, a people of south-west Turkey: 725
- Carinae -ārum f. pl.** 'The Keels' name of a district of Rome: 361
- Carmentālis -e adj.** associated with Carmentis: 338
- Carmentis -is f.** Carmentis, Evander's mother: 336, 339
- Catilina -ae m.** Catiline, Roman revolutionary: 668
- Catō Catōnis m.** Cato, Roman statesman: 670
- Cerēs Cereris f.** Ceres, the corn goddess, the Greek Demeter, corn: 181
- Chalybēs -um m.** the Chalybes, iron-workers: 421; *see also chalybs in main voc.*
- Cloelia -ae f.** Cloelia, Roman heroine: 652
- Cocles -itis m.** *cognomen* of Horatius, defender of the Tiber bridge: 650
- Crēsius -a -um adj.** Cretan: 294
- Curēs -ium m., f.** Cures, city of the Sabines: 638
- Cycladēs acc. Cycladās f.** the Cyclades (islands): 692
- Cyclōps -ōpis m.** one of the Cyclopes: 418
- Cyllēnē -ae f.** Cyllene, mountain in Arcadia: 139
- Cytherēa -ae adj. fem.** 'she of Cythera' title of Venus: 523, 615
- Dahae -ārum m.** the Dahae, a people from beyond the Caspian Sea: 728
- Danāi -ōrum m.** the Greeks: 129
- Dardania -ae f.** Dardania, the land of Troy: 120
- Dardanius -a -um** Trojan: 14
- Dardanus -ī m.** Dardanus, son of Zeus and Electra, ancestor of the Trojans: 134
- Daunius -a -um** 'associated with Daunus'; Daunus was Turnus's father: 146
- Diomēdēs -is m.** Diomedes, Greek hero, now king of Arpi in south-east Italy: 9
- Dira -ae f.** an avenging spirit. a Fury: 701
- Dis Dītis m.** Dis, lord of the Underworld: 667
- Discordia -ae f.** the goddess Strife: 702
- Ēlectra -ae f.** Electra, daughter of Atlas and Jupiter, mother of Dardanus: 135, 136
- Erulus -ī m.** Erulus, king of Praeneste: 563
- Etrūria -ae** Etruria: 494
- Etruscus -a -um adj.** Etruscan: 480, 503
- Euandrus -ī m.** Evander, king of Pallanteum: 52, 100, 119, 185, 313, 360, 455, 545, 558
- Euphrātēs -ī or -ae** the river Euphrates: 726
- Eurus -ī m.** the east wind: 223
- Eurystheus -ī m.** Eurystheus, king of Argos: 292

- Faunus** -ī *m.*: see on 314
- Fērōnia** -ae *f.* Italian goddess, mother of Erulus: 564
- Fortūna** -ae *f.* the goddess Fortune: 127, 334, 578
- Furia** -ae *f.* a Fury, one of the spirits of vengeance: 669
- Galli** -ōrum *m.* the Gauls: 656, 657
- Gelōnī** -ōrum *m.* the Geloni, a people from the Ukraine: 725
- Gēryōn** or **Gēryōnēs** **Gēryonae** *m.* Geryon, the giant of the far west killed by Hercules: 202
- Gorgōn** **Gorgonis** (*acc.* **Gorgona** 438), *f.* Gorgon, a monster killed by Perseus: 438
- Grāiūgēna** -ae *m., gen. pl.*
- Grāiugenum** Greek: 127
- Graius** -a -um *adj.* Greek: 135
- Herculeus** -a -um *adj.* 'of Hercules': 270, 276, 288, 542
- Hēsionē** -ae *f.* Hesione, sister of Priam: 157
- Hesperia** -ae *f.* Hesperia, 'the Western Land', a name for Italy: 148
- Hesperis** *nom. pl.* **Hesperides** *fem. adj.* Italian: 77
- Hylaeus** -ī *m.* Hylaeus, a centaur: 294
- Iāpyx** **Iāpygis** *m.* Iapyx, an NW wind: 710
- Īliacus** -a -um *adj.* Trojan: 134
- Indus** -ī *m.* Indian: 705
- Italus** -a -um *adj.* Italian: 626, 715
- Iūnō** **Iūnōnis** *f.* Juno: 60, 84, 292
- Iuppiter** **Iovis** *m.* Jupiter: 301, 320, 353, 381, 560, 573, 640
- Lāomedontiadēs** -ae *m.* son of Laomedon, used of Priam: 158, 162
- Lāomedontius** -a -um *adj.* of the family of Laomedon: 18
- Latinus** -a -um *adj.* Latin, that is 'from Latium': 38, 55, 117, 448, 602
- Latium** -ī *Latium*, territory in Italy: 5, 10, 14, 18, 322
- Laurēns** -entis *adj.* Laurentian: 1, 38, 71, 371, 537, 613
- Lelegēs** -um *m., acc.* **Lelegās** Leleges, a people of SW Turkey: 725
- Lemnius** -a -um *adj.* from Lemnos, *epithet of Vulcan*: 454
- Lernaeus** -a -um *adj.* of Lerna, home of the Hydra (300)
- Leucātēs** *acc. -ēn m.* Cape Leucates: 677
- Libystis** -idis *fem. adj.* African: 368
- Liparē** *acc. -ēn f.* the island Lipara off Sicily: 417
- Lūcifer** -ī *m.* Lucifer, the Morning Star: 589
- Lupercal** -ālis *n.* the Lupercal, cave at the foot of the Palatine Hill: 343
- Lupercī** -ōrum *m.pl.* the Luperci: 663
- Lycaeus** -a -um *adj.* Lycaean (from Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia): 344
- Lycius** -a -um *adj.* from Lycia, in south-west Turkey: 166
- Lȳdius** -a -um *adj.* from Lydia in western Turkey: 479
- Maeonia** -ae *f.* Maeonia, = Lydia: 499
- Maeonius** -a -um *adj.* Etruscan: 479 and 499, notes
- Maia** -ae *f.* Maia, daughter of Atlas, mother of Mercury: 138, 140
- Mānēs** -ium *m. pl.* the spirits of the dead: 246
- Manlius** -ī *m.* Manlius, Roman hero: 652

- Mārs Mārtis** *and* **Māvors Māvortis** *m.* Mars, the war god; war: 433, 495, 516, 557, 630, 700, 676
- Mercurius -ī m.** (the god) Mercury: 138
- Messāpus -ī m.** Messapus, Italian warrior: 6
- Mettus -ī m.** Mettus or Mettius, dictator of Alba: 642
- Mēzentius -ī m.** Mezentius, former lord of Caere in Etruria, most brutal of Turnus's allies: 7, 482, 501, 569
- Minerva -ae f.** the goddess Minerva: 409, 699
- Morinī -ōrum m.** the Morini, a people from north-west Gaul: 727
- Mulciber -ī and -is** a name for Vulcan: 724
- Nemea -ae f.** Nemea in S. Greece: 295
- Neptūnius -a -um adj.** belonging to Neptune, of the sea: 695
- Neptūnus -ī m.** the god Neptune: 699
- Nereus -ī m.** Nereus, sea god, father of Thetis and grandfather of Achilles: 383
- Nilus -ī m.** the river Nile: 711
- Nomades -um m.** Nomads (a tribe): 724
- Nympha -ae f.** a nymph, a spirit of the countryside: 71, 336, 339
- Ōceanus -ī m.** Ocean, the 'river' which surrounds the earth: 589
- Oechalia -ae f.** Oechalia, city destroyed by Hercules: 291
- Olympus -ī m.** Olympus; the sky: 280, 319, 533
- Orcus -ī m.** the underworld; the god of the underworld: 296
- Oriēns -entis m.** the Orient: 687
- Pallantēum -ī n.** Pallanteum, Evander's city: 54, 341
- Pallas Palladis f.** Pallas (the goddess = Athena, Minerva): 435
- Pallās Pallantis m.** Pallas, name of Evander's great-grandfather: 51, 54, and of his son: 104, 110, 121, 168, 466, 515, 519, 575, 587
- Pān Pānos m.** (the god) Pan: 344
- Parrhasius -a -um adj.** Parrhasian, Arcadian: 344
- Pelagī -ōrum m.pl.** the Pelasgians: 600
- Penātēs -um or -ium** the Penates, the household gods of Rome: 69n.
- Pergama -ōrum n.pl.** (the citadel of) Troy: 37, 374
- Phenēus -ī m.** Pheneus, city in Arcadia: 165
- Phoebus -ī m.** the god Apollo: 720
- Pholus -ī m.** Pholus, a centaur: 294
- Pinārius -a -um adj.** belonging to the family of Pinarius: 270
- Porsenna -ae m.** Porsenna, Etruscan king: 646
- Potitius -ī m.** Potitius, name of the legendary originator of the worship of Hercules at Rome: 269, 281
- Praeneste -is f.** Praeneste, a hill-town south-east of Rome: 561
- Priamus -ī m.** Priam, king of Troy: 158, 379, 399
- Pyracmōn m.** Pyracmon, one of the Cyclopes: 425
- Rhēnus -ī m.** the river Rhine: 727
- Rōma -ae f.** Rome: 635
- Rōmānus -a -um adj.** Roman: 99, 313, 361, 714
- Rōmuleus -a -um adj.** of Romulus: 654
- Rōmulidae -ārum m.** the sons/people of Romulus: 638
- Rōmulus -ī m.** Romulus: 342

- Rutulus -a -um** 'Rutulian.' The Rutuli are Turnus' people: 381, 474
- Sabaeus -a -um** *adj.* Sabaeen: 706.
- Sabellus -a -um** and **Sabinus -a -um** *adj.* Sabine: 510
- Salamis** *Gk. acc. Salamina* Salamis, the island off Athens ruled by Telamon, whose mistress was Hesione: 158
- Salii -ōrum** *m.* the Salii: 285, 663
- Sāturnius -a -um** *adj.* relating to Saturn: 358
- Sāturnus -ī** *m.* Saturn, father of Jupiter: 319, 357
- Sicānus -a -um** *adj.* Sicanian: 328
- Sicanius -a -um** *adj.* Sicilian: 416
- Silvānus -ī** *m.* Silvanus, god of the countryside: 600
- Steropēs** *m.* Steropes, one of the Cyclopes: 425
- Stygius -a -um** *adj.* of the Styx, the underworld river: 296
- Tarchō** and **Tarchōn -ōnis** *m.* Tarchon, Etruscan commander: 506, 603
- Tarpeius -a -um** *adj.* Tarpeian, ref. to one of the summits of the Capitol: 347, 652
- Tarquinius -ī** *m.* Tarquin, name of the 5th and 7th kings of Rome: 646
- Tartarus -ī** *m.* or **Tartara -ōrum** *n.pl.* Tartarus, the (deepest pit of) underworld: 563
- Tartareus -a -um** *adj.* belonging to Tartarus: 667
- Tatius -ī** *m.* Tatius, king of the Sabines: 638
- Tegeaeus -a -um** *adj.* from Tegea (in Arcadia): 459
- Teucrī -ōrum** or **Teucrum** *m.* the Teucri, Trojans, *also as adj.*: 10, 136, 397
- Thybris -idis**, *also Tiberinus -ī* *m.* the river Tiber or its eponymous god: 31, 64, 72, 86, 331, 540
- Thybris -idis** *m.* an ancient king in Italy: 330
- Tirynthius -a -um** *adj.* from Tiryns, Greek city near Argos, where Eurystheus was king, whom Hercules served when performing his successive labours: 228
- Tithōnius -a -um** *adj.* of Tithonus, the ever-ageing husband of Aurora, the Dawn: 384
- Troia -ae** *f.* Troy: 291, 398, 471, 587
- Trōius -a -um** *adj.* Trojan: 530
- Troiānus -a -um** Trojan: 36, 182, 188, 545
- Trōiūgēna -ae** *m.* Trojan: 117
- Tullus -ī** *m.* Tullus Hostilius, second king of Rome: 644
- Turnus -ī** Turnus, self-appointed leader of the Italian opposition to Aeneas: 1, 17, 493, 538, 614
- Tuscus -a -um** *adj.* Etruscan: 473
- Typhoeus -ī** *m.* Typhoeus, one of the Giants: 298
- Tyrrhēnus -a -um** *adj.* Etruscan: 458, 507, 526, 551, 555, 603,
- Ūfēns -entis** *m.* Ufens, Italian warrior: 6
- Venulus -ī** *m.* Venulus, a leader of the Latins: 9
- Venus Veneris** *f.* the goddess Venus: 370, 590, 608, 699
- Vesper** *m. and f. (irreg)* the Evening Star, evening: 280
- Volcānius -a -um** belonging to Vulcan: 422, 535
- Volcānus -ī** *m.* Vulcan, god of fire, the smith-god: 198, 372, 422, 729

Vocabulary

The Vocabulary is set out indicating:

- for verbs: as many principal parts as seem to be necessary or useful.
- for nouns: gen. sing. and gender
- for adjectives: nom. sing. f. and n.; if masc. = fem., the nom. neuter is given; if all nominatives the same, the gen. sing. is given.
- for all other words, part of speech and meaning.

Long vowels are marked with a macron, others are short. (The 'short' symbol ˘ is used to draw attention to a quantity which might be misread.)

Numbers in brackets refer to special meanings in particular lines.

ā or **ab** *prep.* + *abl.* by, from

abiēs **abiētis** *f.* fir

abigō -**ere** -**ēgī** -**āctum** drive away

abitus -**ūs** *m.* departure

abiūrō -**āre** deny on oath

abrupō -**ere** -**rūpī**

-**ruptum** break off, cut short

absistō -**ere** draw back, cease, desist

abstrahō -**ere** -**traxī**

-**tractum** remove

abstulī *see auferō*

absum **abesse** **āfuī** be absent, be missing

ac *conj.* and; 243: 'than'

accēdō -**ere** **accessī** approach

accendō -**ere** inflame

accessus -**ūs** *m.* way in

accipiō -**ere** -**cēpī** -**ceptum** receive, welcome

ācer **ācris** **ācre** *adj.* keen, fierce

acernus -**a** -**um** *adj.* made of maple wood

acervus -**ī** *m.* heap

aciēs -**ēī** *f.* battle-line, army

acuō -**ere** sharpen

acūtus -**a** -**um** *adj.* sharp

ad *prep.* + *acc.* (i) to, towards

(ii) at, near (iii) for the purpose of (iv) (*musical*) with the accompaniment of, *also* 411

addō -**ere** **addidī** **additum** add

adeō (585) *emphatic particle* 'really'

adeō -**īre** (*imper. adī*) approach

adferō -**ferre** **attulī** bring, contribute

adfigō -**ere** -**fixī** -**fixum** fix

adfor -**fārī** -**fātus** **sum** speak to, address

adhibeō -**ēre** **adhibuī** apply, add

adiciō -**ere** add

adimō -**ere** -**ēmī** -**emptum** take away

adiungō -**ere** *tr* join (*x* to *y*)

adlābor -**ī** -**lāpsus** **sum** move smoothly (towards)

adloquor -**ī** address, speak to

adluō -**ere** wash

adsiduus -**a** -**um** *adj.* continual

adsuēscō -ere *tr* accustom or *intr*
become accustomed

adsum adesse adfuī be present

advehor -ī advectus sum travel to,
arrive

adventus -ūs *m.* arrival

adversus -a -um *adj.* opposite,
facing

advertō -ere -advertī *tr.* turn (*x*)
towards (*y*); pay attention (50)

advocō -āre summon up

aedēs -ium *f. pl.* house

aegis *Gk. acc. aegida f.* aegis (354)

āēnus -a -um *adj.* made of bronze

aequō -āre make equal

aequor -oris *n.* smooth surface,
water

aerātus -a -um *adj.* brazen, bronze-
clad

āērius -a -um *adj.* lofty

aes aeris *n.* bronze

aestuō -āre seethe

aestus -ūs *m.* surge, the motion of
a stormy sea

aetās -ātis *f.* time, age

aeternus -a -um *adj.* eternal

aethēr -eris *m. (Gk. acc.*

aethera) upper air, sky

aetherius -a -um *adj.* celestial

aevum -ī *n.* age, time

āfore *fut. infin. absum*

ager agrī *m.* field, countryside

agmen -inis *n.* column, army on
the march

agnōscō -ere agnōvī recognize

agō -ere ēgī āctum do, drive,
perform; **age, agite:** come on
now!

agrestis -e *adj.* country-(dweller)

āiō āit say

āla -ae *f.* wing

albus -a -um *adj.* white, bright

ālēs ālitis *adj.* winged; as *noun*
m./f. bird

aliquandō *adv.* at some time, at
long last

aliquī -qua -quod *adj.* some
(person/thing)

alius -a aliud other

almus -a -um *adj.* nourishing,
kindly

alō -ere nourish, feed

altāria -ium *n. pl.* altar; offerings
placed on an altar

alternus -a -um *adj.* alternating,
by turns

altus -a -um *adj.* deep, high,
tall; ancient, remote (395); **alta**
(691) *n. pl.* the open sea

ambiguus -a -um *adj.* doubtful

ambō -ae -ō *pron.* both

amictus -ūs *m.* robe, cloak

amicus -a -um *adj.* friendly

āmittō -ere āmisi āmissum lose

amnis -is *m.* river

amoenus -a -um *adj.* pleasant

amor -ōris *m.* love, longing

amplector -ī amplexus sum
embrace

amplexus -ūs *m.* embrace

an *conj. in questions* or?

ancile -is *n.* a type of shield (see
664n.)

angō -ere throttle

anguis -is *m.* snake

angustus -a -um *adj.* narrow,
confined

anhēlō -āre pant

anima -ae *f.* life, breath, wind

animal animālis *n.* living creature

animus -ī *m.* mind, spirit; *pl.*

animī high spirits, courage

annus -ī m. year
annuus -a -um adj. annual
ānser -is m. goose
ante prep. + acc. before, in front of
antrum -ī n. cave
aperiō -īre aperuī apertum open, display
apertus -a -um adj. open, clear
apex apicis m. a type of head-covering (see 664n.)
appāreō -ēre appāruī appear, be clear
aptō -āre equip, fit out
aqua -ae f. water
aquōsus -a -um adj. watery
āra -ae f. altar
arbor -oris f. tree
arceo -ēre tr. keep away
arcus -ūs f. bow
ardeō -ēre burn, blaze
arduus -a -um adj. steep, high up
argenteus -a -um adj. made of silver
argentum -ī n. silver
arma -ōrum n.pl. arms
armātus -a -um adj. armed
armentum -ī n. herd
armō -āre arm
ars artis f. craft, skill
artus -ūs m. limb
arvum -ī n. field
arx arcis f. stronghold, citadel
asper -a -um adj. rough, difficult
aspiciō -ere look (at), catch sight of
aspirō -āre instil
astrum -ī n. star
asylum -ī n. asylum, sanctuary
at conj. but
āter ātra ātrum adj. black, dark
atque conj. and, or and indeed;
 391: 'than'

attollō -ere raise
attulit see **adferō**
auctor -ōris m. originator
audāx -ācis adj. daring
audeō -ēre ausus sum dare
audiō -īre -īvi -ītum hear
auferō -ferre abstuli ablātum take away
aura -ae f. air, the upper air
aurātus -a -um adj. golden
aureus -a -um adj. golden
auris -is f. ear
aurum -ī n. gold
aut conj. or
autem particle but, what is more
auxilium -ī n. help, (pl.) reinforcements
āvellō -ere āvelli/āvulsī tear up
āvertō -ere steal
axis -is m. vault (of the sky)

barathrum -ī n. abyss (245)
barbaricus -a -um adj. barbarian
bellō -āre go to war
bellum -ī n. war
bicolor -ōris adj. two-coloured
bicornis -e adj. two-horned
bidēns bidentis f. young (sacrificial) sheep
bimembris -e adj. having limbs of two kinds
bīnī -ae -a adj. two
birēmīs -e adj. having two banks of oars
bis adv. twice
bōs bovis m. or f. cow, bull, ox
bracchium -ī n. arm

cadāver -is n. corpse
cadō -ere cecidī cāsum fall
caecus -a -um adj. blind

- caedēs -is** *f.* blood, murder
caedō -ere cecīdī caesum kill
caelō -āre carve, engrave
caelum -ī *n.* sky, heaven
caeruleus & caerulus -a -um
adj. blue
caesariēs -ēī *f.* hair
cāligō -inis *f.* darkness
calor -ōris *m.* warmth, heat
camīnus -ī *m.* forge, furnace
campus -ī *m.* plain
candeō -ēre gleam white
candidus -a -um *adj.* pure white,
 bright, fair
canis -is *m. & f.* dog
canistra -ae *f.* basket
canō -ere cecinī cantum sing,
 prophesy
cantus -ūs *m.* singing, music
cānus -a -um *adj.* white, grey
capessō -ere take in hand,
 undertake
capīō -ere cēpī captum take,
 captivate
caput capitis *n.* head, person,
 individual
carbasus -ī *f.* linen
carīna -ae *f.* keel, ship
carmen -inis *n.* song
cārus -a -um *adj.* dear
castra -ōrum *n.pl.* (military) camp,
 army
castus -a -um *adj.* chaste
cāsus -ūs *m.* chance, accident,
 event
catēna -ae *f.* chain
caterva -ae *f.* company, squadron
cauda -ae *f.* tail
causa -ae *f.* cause, reason
cavea -ae *f.* auditorium of theatre
caverna -ae *f.* hole, hollow, opening
cavus -a -um *adj.* hollow
cēdō -ere cessī cessum give way,
 go away
celebrō -āre celebrate, observe
celer -is -e *adj.* swift
celerō -āre *tr. & intr.* hasten
celsus -a -um *adj.* lofty
centum *indecl. adj.* a hundred
cernō -ere see, notice
certāmen -inis *n.* contest, conflict
certātim *adv.* in competition
certus -a -um *adj.* assured
cervīx -īcis *f.* neck
cēterus -a -um *adj.* remaining
chalybs chalybis *m.* iron, steel
chlamys -ydis *f.* lightcloak
chorus -ī *m.* chorus, choir
cieō -ēre stir up
cingō -ere cīnxī cīnctum surround,
 encircle; *pass.* be dressed
cinis cineris *m.* ash
circēnsis -e *adj.* belonging to the
 circus
circum *adv. & prep. + acc.* around
circumdō -dare -dedī put around,
 encompass
circumsistō -sistere surround
circumsonō -āre make a noise
 around ...
circumstō -stāre -stetī surround
citus -a -um *adj., perf. part. of cieo*
 hurrying
cīvis -is *m. or f.* citizen
clāmor -ōris *m.* shouting, noise
clangor -ōris *m.* blare, blast
clārus -a -um *adj.* bright
classis -is *f.* fleet
claudō -ere clausī clausum close,
 shut in
clipeus -ī *m.* shield
coeō -īre come together

coepti -isse begin, *pf. part.*

coeptus -a -um with passive sense
'started'

coeptum -ī n. something begun,
enterprise

cognātus -a -um adj. related by
blood

cognōmen -inis n. name

cōgō -ere cōgī cōactum gather

collis -is m. hill

collum -ī n. neck

colō -ere colui cultum cultivate

colus -ī f. distaff

coma -ae f. hair

comēs comitis m/f. companion

comitor -ārī accompany

commisceō -ēre -miscui

-mixtum mix up

commūnis -e adj. common, shared

compellō -āre speak to, address

complector -ī -plexus sum

entwine, embrace, clasp

complexus -ūs m. embrace

compōno -ere -posui

-positum put together

comprimō -ere -pressi -pressum

suppress

cōmptus -a -um adj. (*ppl of vb.*

cōmō) adorned, dressed

cōmō adorned, dressed

concēdō -ere -cessi give way

concupiō -ere -cēpi

-ceptum conceive

concolor -ōris adj. of the same
colour

concurrō -ere come hurrying
together, clash

concutiō -ere -cussi

-cussum shake

condēnsus -a -um adj. close-packed

conditor -ōris m. founder

condō -ere found, put away, hide

cōnectō -ere -nexui -nexum join
together

cōfugiō -ere flee for refuge

concredior -gredi -gressus sum

meet

coniungō -ere -iūnxi

-iūntum join

coniunx coniugis m. or f. husband,
wife

coniūrō -āre conspire

conlābor -ī -lāpsus sum collapse

cōnscendō -ere cōnscendi climb
up to

cōnscius -a -um adj. aware (393n.)

cōnsessus -ūs m. assembly

cōnsistō -ere settle

cōnsonō -āre resound in

accompaniment

cōnspiciō -ere cōnspexi cōnspectum

catch sight of

cōnsurgō -ere rise, get up

contemnō -ere contempsi

contemptum despise

contemptor -ōris m. despiser

contrā adv. & prep. + acc. against

convellō -ere -velli -vulsum heave
up, convulse, churn

cor cordis n. heart

cōram adv. face to face

corniger -a -um adj. horned

cornū -ūs n. horn

corōna -ae f. garland, crown

corpus corporis n. body

corripiō -ere -ripui -reptum seize

coruscō -āre brandish

coruscus -a -um adj. flashing,

quivering

crāstinus -a -um adj. tomorrow's

creātrīx -īcis *f.* mother
crēdō -ere crēdidī crēditum + *dat.*
 believe

crētus -a -um *adj., ppl.* **crēsco**
 (135) born (from)

crīnis -is *m.* hair

crista -ae *f.* crest

crūdēlis -e *adj.* brutal, savage

cruentus -a -um *adj.* bloody

cruur -ōris *m.* blood (*from a wound*)

cubile -is *n.* bedroom, bed

culmen -inis *n.* peak, roof

culmus -ī *m.* straw

cultor -ōris *m.* cultivator

cultum *see colō*

cultus -ūs *m.* refinement

cum (i) *prep. + abl.* with,
 accompanying

(ii) *conj.* when, since;

cum primum as soon as

cumulō -āre heap up

cūnctī -ae -a *adj.* all

cūnctor -ārī hesitate

cupidus -a -um *adj.* eager

cupiō cupere desire

cūra -ae *f.* care, anxiety, trouble

cūrō -āre take care of

curriculum -ī *n.* course, distance
 to be run

currō -ere cucurri cursum run

currus -ūs *m.* chariot

cursus -ūs *m.* run, running

custodiō -īre -īvi/īi -ītum guard

custōs custōdis (*m.*) guardian

daps dapis *f.* feast

dē *prep. + abl.* from (54 descended
 from); according to (344)

dea -ae *f.* goddess

dēbeō -ēre dēbuī dēbitum owe,
 ought

decem *adj. indeclinable* ten

dēcolor -ōris *adj.* changed in
 colour, tarnished

decus decoris *n.* glory

dēfendō -ere dēfendi

dēfensum defend

dēfigō -ere -fixī -fixum fix down

dēfluō -ere float down

dēhinc *adv.* next

dēhiscō -ere split apart

dēiciō -ere -iēcī -iectum throw
 down

deinde (2 syllables) *adv.* then

dēligō -ere -lēgī -lectum choose

delphīn -īnis *m.* dolphin

dēlubrum -ī *n.* temple

dēmittō -ere -mīsī -missum let fall

dēmō -ere take away, remove

dēnī -ae -a *adj.* ten

dēns dentis *m.* tooth

dēprendō -ere -prendī

-prēnsūm catch

dēscendō -ere -dēscendī descend

dēsecō -āre dēsecuī dēsectum cut
 off

dēserō -ere -seruī

-sertum abandon

dēsuper *adv.* from above

dētegō -ere -tēxī -tēctum uncover

dēterior -ius *adj.* worse

deus -ī *m. gen. pl.* **dēōrum, deum**

dat., abl. pl. **dīs** god

dēvexus -a -um *adj.* downward
 sloping or moving

dēvinciō -īre -vīnxī -victum bind,
 imprison

dexter -tra -trum *adj.* right (*side*);
 on the right (237); favourable
 (302)

dextra -ae *f. (sc. manus)* right
 hand

dīcō -ere dīxī dictum say; call
(332)

dictum -ī n. word

diditus -a -um adj. (*ppl. of vb.*

didō) spread abroad, diffused

diēs -ēī m. & f. day

differō -ferre distulī take apart,
postpone

dignus -a -um adj. worthy ('of':
abl.)

dīgressus -ūs m. parting

diligō -ere -lēxī -lēctum

dīmittō -ere send away

dīrus -a -um adj. dreadful

discēdō -ere -cessī -cessum depart

discessus -ūs m. departure

discīnctus -a -um adj. not wearing
a girdle

disiciō -ere -iēcī -iectum scatter,
throw apart

dispersus -a -um adj. scattered

dissultō -āre leap apart

dīva -ae f. goddess

dīvellō -ere tear apart

dīversus -a -um adj. facing in
different ways, different

dīvidō -ere divide, separate

dīvīnus -a -um adj. divine,
concerned with the gods

dīvus -ī gen. pl dīvum god

dō dāre dedī datum give, offer,
cause (570)

doceō -ēre explain (about)

dolor -ōris m. pain, grief, resentment

dolus -ī m. trick

domus -ūs and -ī f. house, home

dōnec conj. until

dōnum -ī n. gift

dorsum -ī n. ridge

dubitō -āre hesitate

dūcō -ere duxī ductum lead,
guide, carry on (55), bring

ductor -ōris m. leader

dulcis -e adj. sweet

dum conj. while

dūmus -ī m. thorn bush, briar

duo duae duo adj. two

uplicō -āre redouble

dūrō -āre endure

dūrus -a -um adj. hard, difficult

dux ducis m. leader

ē or ex pron. + abl. from, out of,
arising from

eā see is ea id

ecce interj. look!

ēdō -ere ēdīdī ēditum produce;
136: give birth to

edō esse eat

ēdoceō -ēre explain thoroughly

ēducō -ere bring up

effērō efferre extulī bring out

efferus -a -um adj. savage,
maddened, bestial

effētus -a -um adj. worn out

effor -fārī -fātus sum utter

effulgeō -ēre & effulgō -ēre gleam

effultus -a -um adj. propped up,
supported

effundō -ere -fūdī -fūsum pour
out

ēgelidus -a -um adj. chilly (610n.)

egēnus -a -um adj. impoverished,
needy

egēo -ēre lack (+ *gen.*)

ēgī, ēgēre see agō

ego mē (mei) mihi mē pron. I, me

ēgredior -ī ēgressus sum

come out, disembark

ēgregius -a -um adj. outstanding

ēiciō -ere ēiēcī ēiectum expel
ēlābor -ī ēlāpsus sum slip away
ēlectrum -ī n. electrum, a gold and silver alloy
ēlīdō -ere ēlīsī ēlisum knock out, throttle
ēmūniō -īre ēmūniī strengthen
ēn *interj.* see!
ēnarrābilis -e adj. describable
enim *particle* (i) *explanatory* for (ii) *asseverative* yes! (*second in clause*)
ēnītor -ī ēnīxus sum give birth to
ēnsis -is m. sword
eō īre īī/īvī ītum go
epulae -ārum f.pl. feast
eques equitis m. horseman
equidem = ego quidem I for my part
equitātus -ūs m. cavalry
equus -ī m. horse
ergō conj. therefore
ērigō -ere ērēxī ērēctum erect, direct
erilis -e adj. belonging to a master
ēripiō -ere snatch, take away
et conj. and, even, **et ... et** both ... and
etiam adv. also, even
euntis *gen. sing. pres. part.* **eō**
ēventus -ūs m. outcome, result
ēvinciō -īre ēvinxī ēvinctum bind
ēvomō -ere spew out
ex = ē
exardēscō -ere -arsī blaze up
excidium -ī n. destruction
excipiō -ere -cēpī -ceptum receive, welcome
excitō -āre stir up, arouse
exedō -esse -ēdī -ēsum eat away

exeō -īre exiī come out, emerge
exerceō -ēre put into action, strain, train
exhortor -ārī encourage
exiguus -a -um adj. limited, small
exim adv. next, after this
eximō -ere -ēmī -emptum remove
expediō -īre arrange, get through, accomplish
expellō -ere -pulī -pulsum drive out, dispel
expleō -ēre fill, satisfy
exquirō -ere inquire
exsors -sortis adj. unallocated, 'reserved'
expectō -āre await
extinguō -ere extinxī extinctum extinguish
exsul -is m. & f. exile
exsultō -āre leap, dance
exta -ōrum n.pl. entrails, offal
extemplō adv. immediately
externus -a -um adj. foreign, from outside
exterritus -a -um terrified
extimēscō -ere -timuī be greatly afraid
extrēmus -a -um adj. furthest, outermost
extundō -ere -tudi beat out
exuō -ere exuī exūtum strip
fabrilis -e adj. relating to a smith
faciēs -ēī f. appearance, face
facilis -e adj. easy, willing
faciō -ere fēcī factum make, do; perform sacrifice
factum -ī n. deed
fallō -ere fefelli falsum deceive
fāma -ae f. reputation, fame

famēs -is *f.* hunger

famula -ae *f.* and **famulus -ī** *m.*
slave

fās *n. indeclinable* right, permitted

fastigium -ī *n.* gable, roof

fateor -ērī confess, admit

fātidicus -a -um *adj.* teller of
destiny

fātifer -a -um *adj.* bringer of
destiny

fatigō -āre *tr.* wear out

fātum -ī or **fāta -ōrum** *n.pl.* fate,
destiny

faucēs -ium *f.pl.* throat, jaws

faveō -ēre show favour or goodwill

fel fellis *n.* bile

fēmina -ae *f.* woman

feriō -īre strike

ferō ferre tulī lātum (i) *tr.* carry,
bear, tolerate (ii) *intr.* 'lead' (*via*
fert in urbem: the road leads to
the city) (iii) tell of

ferrum -ī *n.* iron, sword

fervidus -a -um *adj.* boiling

fervō -ēre and **ferveō -ēre** seethe,
boil

fessus -a -um *adj.* weary

fētus -a -um *adj.* pregnant

fētus -ūs *m.* offspring

fidēs -ēī *f.* good faith, honour,
trust; 150: 'promise'

fidūcia -ae *f.* trust, confidence

fidus -a -um *adj.* loyal, trustworthy

filia -ae *f.* daughter

filius -ī *m.* son

finēs -ium *m.pl.* borders, territory

figō -ere invent, make up, form

finitimus -a -um *adj.* neighbouring

fiō fieri factus sum become, be
done

firmō -āre confirm

flagellum -ī *n.* whip

flamma -ae *f.* flame, torch

flectō -ere bend, change the
mind of

fleō -ēre weep, weep for + *acc.*

flexus -ūs *m.* curve

floreō -ēre flourish

flōs flōris *m.* flower, bloom

fluctuō -āre be tossed about

flūmen -inis *n.* river, stream

fluō -ere flow, ooze

fluvius -ī *m.* river, stream, current

foedus -eris *n.* treaty

folium -ī *n.* leaf

follēs -ium *m.* bellows

fōns fontis *m.* spring

for fārī fātus sum say, speak

forceps forcipis *f.* tongs

forem -ēs -et *etc.* used as equivalent
to *essem* *etc.*, *impf. subj. of sum*

forēs -um *f.pl.* door

forma -ae *f.* shape, beauty

fornāx -ācis *f.* furnace, oven

fors fortis *f.* chance

forte *adv.* by chance

fortis -e *adj.* strong, brave

fortūna -ae *f.* (good) fortune

forum -ī *n.* forum

foveō -ēre fōvī fōtum caress,
fondle

fragor -ōris *m.* noise, din

fremō -ere clamour, resound

frēnum -ī *n.* bridle

frētus -a -um *adj.* + *abl.* relying
on

frondōsus -a -um *adj.* leafy

frōns frondis *f.* foliage

fruor fruī + *abl.* enjoy

fuga -ae *f.* escape

fugiō -ere fūgī flee
fulciō -īre fulsī fultum support,
 prop up
fulgeō -ēre shine, gleam
fulgor -ōris m. flash (of lightning)
fulmen fulminis n. thunderbolt
fulvus -a -um adj. tawny
fūmifer -a -um adj. smoke-
 bearing, smoky
fūmō -āre steam, smoke
fūmus -ī m. smoke
fundō -āre found, establish
fundō -ere fūdī fūsum pour; 139:
 give birth to
fūnis -is m. cable
fūnus fūneris n. death
fūr fūris m. thief
furiae -ārum f.pl. madness, anger
furō -ere rage
fuscus -a -um adj. dark
futūrus -a -um adj., fut. part. sum;
futūrum -ī n. the future

gaesum -ī n. a Gallic javelin
galea -ae f. helmet
gaudeō -ēre rejoice
gelidus -a -um adj. icy, cool
gelū -ūs n. frost, chill
geminī -ōrum m.pl. twin, 'the
 two ...'
gemitus -ūs m. groan, boom (420)
gemō -ere groan
gena -ae f. cheek
generō -āre beget
genetrīx -trīcis f. mother
genitor -ōris m. father
gēns gentis f. nation, people, clan
genus generis n. race, nation,
 people, kind
glaucus -a -um grey-green

glomerō -āre accumulate, make a
 ball of
gradior -ī gressus sum walk
grāmineus -a -um adj. grassy,
 made of turf
grātus -a -um adj. welcome,
 pleasing
gravis -e adj. heavy, serious, grim
gravō -āre make heavy, load
gremium -ī n. lap
gressus -ūs m. footstep
grex gregis m. flock, herd
guttur -is n. throat

habeō -ēre habuī habitum have,
 possess
habitō -āre inhabit, occupy
habitus -ūs m. character, style
hāc adv. this way
haereō -ēre haesī haesum
intr. stick fast, hold tightly to
harundō -inis f. reed
haruspex -icis m. seer, haruspex
hasta -ae f. spear
haud adv. not
hērōs gen. (Gk.) hērōōs hero
hesternus -a -um adj. yesterday's
heu interj. alas!
hic haec hoc hūius pron. this
hīc adv. here; *also of time* 'at this
 point' (219)
hinc adv. from here; on this/that side
hōc adv. (423) = **hūc**
homo hominis m. man, woman,
 person
honōs -ōris m. (mark of) honour
horreō -ēre horruī shudder, bristle
horridus -a -um adj. bristling
horrifer -a -um adj. terror-
 bringing

hospes -itis *m.* guest, guest-friend
hostis -is *m. & f.* enemy
hūc *adv.* (to) here, hither
humilis -e *adj.* low, humble
humus -ī *f.* ground

iaceō -ēre lie
iaciō -ere iēcī iactum throw
iactō -āre hurl
iam *adv.* already, now
iamdūdum *adv.* for some time now
iānitor -ōris *m.* gatekeeper
ībam *see eō*
ictus -ūs *m.* blow
īdem eadem idem *pron.* the same
ignārus -a -um *adj.* ignorant
igneus -a -um *adj.* fiery
ignipotēns -entis *adj.* powerful
 with fire, *epithet of Vulcan*
ignis -is *m.* fire
ignōtus -a -um *adj.* unknown,
 unfamiliar
īlex īlicis *f.* holm-oak, ilex
īlicet *adv.* immediately
ille illa illud illius *pron.* that
 (person, etc.)
illīc *adv.* there
illūc *f.* there, thither
imāgō imāginis *f.* image
imber imbris *m.* rain
immānis -e *adj.* huge and dreadful
immittō -ere -mīsī -missum
 introduce, inflict, let out (708)
immortālis -e *adj.* immortal
impavidus -a -um *adj.* unafraid
impediō -īre -īvī -ītum hinder,
 block, cover
impellō -ere -pulī -pulsum shove,
 drive on
imperfectus -a -um *adj.* unfinished

imperium -ī *n.* command
impleō -ēre -plēvī -plētum fill
impōnō -ere -posuī
 -positum impose, place upon
imprōvisō *adv.* unexpectedly
impulsus -ūs *m.* shove
īmus -a -um *adj.* lowest, bottom of
in (i) *prep. + acc.* into, against,
 aiming at (ii) *prep. + abl.* in
inaccessus -a -um
 adj. unapproachable
inardēscō -ere glow
inausus -a -um *adj.* unventured
incassum *adv.* uselessly, in vain
incēdō -ere walk, walk on
incendium -ī *n.* fire
incendō -ere incendi incēsum
 tr. burn
incertus -a -um *adj.* uncertain
incipiō -ere -cēpī -ceptum
 tr. begin
inclūdō -ere -clūsī -clūsum shut
 in, trap
incolō -ere inhabit
incolumis -e *adj.* safe, unharmed
incommodum -ī *n.* misfortune
incrēbrēscō -ere become common
increpō -āre increpuī make a loud
 noise
incumbō -ere -cubūī + dat. lean
 on, lean towards, work hard at
incūs -ūdis *f.* anvil
inde *conj.* thence, then
indiciūm -ī *n.* evidence, sign
indigena -ae *masc. adj.* native
 (314)
indignor -ārī be furious, resentful
 (at)
indocilis -e *adj.* untaught
indomitus -a -um *adj.* untamed

indubitō -āre lack confidence in
indūcō -ere -duxī -ductum draw;
pass. put on, dress (457)

indulgeō -ēre be kind to
inēluctābilis -e *adj.* inescapable
inexplētus -a -um insatiable
infandus -a -um *adj.* unspeakable
infernus -a -um *adj.* lower
inferō -ferre intulī introduce
informis -e *adj.* shapeless, ugly
informō -āre to give rough shape to
infrā *adv.* below
infrendō -ere gnash
infundō -ere -fūdī -fūsum pour in,
relax (405)

ingēns ingentis *adj.* huge
ingredior -gredi -gressus sum step out
ingruō -ere threaten, impend
inhaereō -ēre inhaesi cling to
inimicus -a -um *adj.* hostile
inīquus -a -um *adj.* unfair, hostile
innectō -ere -nexuī
-nexum entwine

innō -nāre float, swim
inopīnus -a -um *adj.* unexpected
inops inopis *adj.* poor, needy
inquam inquis inquit say
īnscius -a -um *adj.* ignorant
īnsequor -ī harass, pursue
īnsigne -is *n.* sign, symbol
īnsignis -e *adj.* remarkable,
conspicuous

īnspērātus -a -um *adj.* unexpected
īnstaūrō -āre restart (a ceremony)
īnstō -āre threaten, attack, be
imminent, press on
īnstruō -ere -struxī -structum equip
īnsuētus -a -um
adj. unaccustomed, strange
īnsula -ae *f.* island

īnsultō -āre show contempt for (+
dat.)

īnsurgō -ere rise above
īntendō -ere stretch, draw (a bow)
īnter *prep.* + *acc.* between, among
īntereā *adv.* meanwhile
īntertextus -a -um *adj.* inwoven
īntonō -āre īntonuī thunder
īntractātus -a -um *adj.* unactivated
īntrō -āre enter
īnvehō -ere -vēxī -vectum carry in
īnveniō -īre -vēnī -ventum find
īnvictus -a -um *adj.* unconquered,
unconquerable
īnvideō -ēre -vīdī -vīsum hate,
begrudge

īnvīsō -ere visit
īnvītō -āre entertain
īnvolvō -ere wrap up, enfold
īpse -a -um īpsius *emphatic pron.*
himself (her-, it-)
īra -ae *f.* anger
is ea id eius *pron.* this, that, the;
he, she, it; they, them

īta *adv.* so
īter ītineris *n.* journey
īterum *adv.* again
īubeō -ēre order, tell
īugum -ī *n.* yoke, ridge
īungō -ere īunxī īunctum join,
yoke together
īūs īūris *n.* law, rights
īustus -a -um *adj.* just, justified
īuvenālis -e *adj.* youthful
īuvenca -ae *f.* heifer
īuencus -ī *m.* bullock
īuvenis -is *m.* young man
īuventās -ātis *f.* youth (*time of life*)
īuventūs -ūtis *f.* youth, young
people collectively

iuvō -āre help

iuxtā *prep.* next to; *adv.* near at hand

labefaciō (*as faciō*) undermine, make to fall

lābor lābī lāpsus sum slip, glide, fall

labor -ōris *m.* effort, trouble, misfortune

labōrō -āre *intr.* toil (181: *tr.* toil at)

lābrum -ī *n.* basin, bowl

lacertus -ī *m.* (upper) arm

lacrima -ae *f.* tear

lacrimō -āre weep

lacteus -a -um *adj.* milk-white

lacus -ūs *m.* pool, water

laetitia -ae *f.* joy

laetus -a -um *adj.* cheerful

laevus -a -um *adj.* left hand, on the left

lambō -ere lick, suck

lāniger -a -um *adj.* wool-bearing

lanx lancis *f.* platter

laqueāre -is *n.* coffered ceiling

lar laris *m.* Lar, household god

latebrōsus -a -um *adj.* full of hiding places

lateō -ēre latuī lie hidden

latrātor -ōris *m.* one who barks

lātūrus *fut. part.* **ferō**

latus lateris *n.* side

lātus -a -um *adj.* broad, wide; *adv.* **lātē** over a wide area

laus laudis *f.* praise, glory

lautus -a -um *adj.* prosperous,

laxus -a -um *adj.* loose, loosened

lēgātus -ī *m.* envoy, representative

legiō -ōnis *f.* legion, military force

legō -ere lēgī lēctum choose

lēniō -īre lēniī make calm

leō -ōnis *m.* lion

lētum -ī *n.* death

levis -e *adj.* light

lēvis -e *adj.* smooth

levō -āre lighten

lēx lēgis *f.* law

libēns *participle as adv.* gladly, willingly

libertās -ātis *f.* freedom

libō -āre pour a libation

licet -ēre licuit *impers.* it is permitted

licitus -a -um *adj.* permitted

līmen -inis *n.* threshold, door

lingua -ae *f.* tongue

liquēscō -ere liquify

liquidus -a -um *adj.* liquid, flowing

lītoreus -a -um *adj.* on the bank

lītus litoris *n.* shore, (river)bank

locō -āre place

locus -ī *m.; pl. loca* *n.* place

longaevus -a -um *adj.* aged

longus -a -um *adj.* long; *adv.*

longē over a long distance

loquor -ī locūtus sum speak

lōrica -ae *f.* breastplate

luceō -ēre shine, gleam

luctāmen -inis *n.* effort

lūcus -ī *m.* grove

lūdō -ere play

lūdus -ī *m.* game; *pl. lūdi* a festival

lūmen -inis *n.* light, eye

lūna -ae *f.* moon

lupa -ae *f.* she-wolf

lūstrālis -e *adj.* sacrificial

lūstrō -āre go over, purify, gaze at (153)

lūx lūcis *f.* light

mactō -āre honour, sacrifice, slay
maereō -ēre intr. grieve
magister -trī m. and magistra -ae f. teacher, director

magnus -a -um adj. great
māior māius adj., comp. of

magnus: greater
mālō mälle mālūī prefer
mandō -āre entrust, commit
maneō -ēre mānsī

mānsum remain
manifestus -a -um adj. evident, plain
manus -ūs f. hand
mare -is n. sea

massa -ae f. mass (of unformed metal)

māter -tris f. mother
mātūtīnus -a -um adj. morning
maximus -a -um adj., superl. of

magnus
mē pron., acc. of ego me
medius -a -um adj. middle of ...
medulla -ae f. marrow, innermost part

membrum -ī n. limb
meminī -isse remember
memor -is adj. mindful (of), remembering

memorō -āre declare, utter, mention; call (339)

mendāx -ācis adj. lying
mēns mentis f. mind, heart, intention

mēnsa -ae f. table, 'course' of a meal

meritus -a -um adj. well deserved
mēta -ae f. goal, destination
metallum -ī n. metal, ore
metus -ūs m. fear
meus -a -um adj. my

micō -āre micūī glitter
mihi and mihi pron., dat. of ego (to) me

milia -um n.pl. thousands
militia -ae f. military service
mille indeclinable adj. a thousand
mina -ae f. threat

mināx -ācis adj. threatening
ministrō -āre serve, provide
minor -ārī minātus sum threaten
minor -us adj. comp. of parvus

smaller, lesser, younger
minus, adv. less

mīrābilis -e adj. astonishing
mīror -ārī be amazed, admire
misceō -ēre miscuī mixtum

combine, confuse, mix
miser -a -um adj. miserable, wretched

miserēscō -ere + gen. take pity on
miseror -ārī take pity on
mītis -e adj. gentle
mittō -ere mīsī missum send; bring (148)

moenia moenium n. walls, fortifications

molāris -is m. millstone, boulder
mōlēs -is f. mass

mollis -e adj. soft, comfortable
monimentum -ī n. memorial,

reminder
monitum -ī n. warning

mōns montis m. mountain

mōnstrō -āre point out
mōnstrum -ī n. portent, monster

mora -ae f. delay
mors mortis f. death

mortuus -a -um adj. dead
mōs mōris m. manner, principle, propriety

moveō -ēre mōvī mōtum *tr.* move,
disturb

mox *adv.* soon, next, after this

mūgiō -īre low, bellow

mulceō -ēre caress, stroke

multī -ae -a *adj.* many

mūnus -eris *n.* reward,
appreciation, gift

mūrus -ī *m.* wall

nam or **namque** *conj.* for

nāscor -ī nātus sum be born

nātus -ī *m.* son, child

nāvālis -e *adj.* naval

nāvis -is *f.* ship

nē *conj.* (i) *in purpose clauses:* so
that ... not (ii) *in commands, with*
imper. 'do not ...'

-ne? *particle indicating open*
question

nebula -ae *f.* cloud, fog

nec *conj.* nor

necō -āre kill

nefās *n. (indeclinable)* wickedness,
crime

nemus nemoris *n.* wood, trees

nepōs nepōtis *m.* grandson,
descendant

neque ... neque *conj.* neither ... nor
nequeō -īre be unable

nēquīquam *adv.* in vain

neu = et nē *conj.* (i) *with imper.*
'and do not ...' (ii) *purpose:* and
so that ... not

nex necis *f.* killing

nī = nisi

nīdus -ī *m.* nest

niger nigra nigrum *adj.* black,
dark

nigrāns nigrantis *adj.* black, dark

nihil -ī *n. pron.* nothing

nimbus -ī *m.* storm cloud

nī *conj.* = **nisi** unless, if not

nītor -ī strain

niveus -a -um *adj.* snow-white

nōbilis -e *adj.* noble, distinguished

nōbīscum with us

nōdus -ī *m.* knot

nōmen nōminis *n.* name

nōn *adv.* not

nōs nōs (nostrum) nōbis *pron.* we, us

nōscō -ere nōvī nōtum *pluperf.*

nōram get to know

noster nostra nostrum *adj.* our

nōtus -a -um *adj.* well known

noverca -ae *f.* stepmother

novō -āre renew; do as new

novus -a -um *adj.* new, fresh

nox noctis *f.* night

nūbēs -is *f.* cloud

nūbigena -ae *adj. masc.* born of a
cloud

nūdus -a -um *adj.* naked

nullus -a -um *gen. nullius* *adj.* no
(i.e. none of)

nūmen -inis *n.* divine spirit

numerus -ī *m.* number, rhythm

numquam *adv.* never

nunc *adv.* now, as things are

nuntius -a -um *adj.* message-
bearing

nuntius -ī *m.* messenger, news

nympha -ae *f.* nymph, a female
water spirit

ō *interj.* O!

obeō -īre go over, cover

ōbex ōbicis *f.* bar, obstacle (227n.)

obiciō -ere obiēcī put (x) in the way

obsidiō -ōnis *f.* siege

obsitus -a -um *adj.* wrapped up in,
in the grip of

obstipēscō -ere obstipui be
astounded

obtruncō -āre cut down, butcher

obtuli *see offerō*

obvius -a -um *adj.* in the way, 'to meet'

occultō -āre conceal

ōcior *comp. adj. with no*

positive quicker; *adv.* **ōcius**

(101) rather quickly

ocrea -ae *f.* greave, shin-protector

oculus -ī *m.* eye

offerō -ferre obtuli offer, present

ōlim *adv.* at some time (*usu.* in the past)

olīva -ae *f.* olive (-tree)

olli = illi

omnigenus -a -um *adj.* of every
kind

omnipotēns -entis *adj.* all-
powerful

omnis -e *adj.* all

onerō -āre load (x *with* y, or y
into x)

opācus -a -um *adj.* dark, shadowy

oppidum -ī *n.* town

opportūnus -a -um *adj.* suitable

ops opis *f.* resource;

pl. **opēs** wealth

optimus -a -um *adj., superl. of bonus*
best, excellent

optō -āre long for, wish for, choose
(503)

opulentus -a -um *adj.* wealthy

opus operis *n.* work

ōra -ae *f.* shore, region

ōrāculum -ī *n.* oracle

ōrātor -ōris *m.* speaker, spokesman

orbis -is *m.* circle, disc, ring,
sphere

ordō -inis *m.* line, sequence

orior -oriri ortus sum rise

ōrō -āre pray (for)

ōs ōris *n.* face

os ossis *n.* bone

ostendō -ere show

ostentō -āre show

ōstium -ī *n.* doorway

pācifer -fera -ferum *adj.*
peace-bringing

palla -ae *f.* a woman's cloak

palleō -ēre be / grow pale

pallidus -a -um *adj.* pale,
discoloured

palma -ae *f.* palm (of hand)

palūs -ūdis *f.* fen, area of standing
water

pandō -ere spread wide, open

pangō -ere pepigi pāctum settle
on (143; see note)

panthēra -ae *f.* panther

parcō -ere peperci + *dat.* spare,
economize on

parēns -entis *m. & f.* parent

pariō -ere peperī partum give
birth to, get (317)

pariter *adv.* equally

parō -āre prepare

pars partis *f.* part, direction

parvus -a -um *adj.* small

passim *adv.* on all sides

pateō -ēre patui be revealed

pater patris *m.* father

patera -ae *f.* a bowl (for libation)

paternus -a -um *adj.* a father's,
paternal

patior pati passus sum suffer,
permit, agree (577)

patria -ae *f.* fatherland

patrius -a -um *adj.* = **paternus**

pauci -ae -a *adj.* few

pauper -is *adj.* poor, impoverished
pavidus -a -um *adj.* fearful,
 frightened

pāx pācis *f.* peace

pectus pectoris *n.* breast, heart

pecus pecoris *n.* flock

pecus pecudis *f.* (terrestrial)
 animal

pelagus -ī *n.* open sea

pellis -is *f.* hide, skin

pellō -ere pepulī pulsum drive off,
 strike

penātēs -ium *m.* household gods,
 home

pendeō -ēre pependī *intr.* hang

penitus *adv.* utterly, deep down

pēnsum -ī *n.* allotted work, stint

per *prep.* + *acc.* through, throughout,
 by means of, all through

percurrō -ere percurrī run across

percutiō -ere percussī percussum
 strike

perferō -ferre -tulī -lātum endure
 to the end

perficiō -ere -fēcī
 -fectum complete, finish

perfundō -ere -fūdī -fūsum soak

perhibeō -ēre testify (135),
 describe as (324)

peric(u)lum -ī *n.* danger

perpetuus -a -um *adj.* continuous

persolvō -ere -solvi -solūtum pay
 in full

pervolitō -āre fly all over

pēs pedis *m.* foot

petō -ere -ivī seek, look for, go
 towards

pharetra -ae *f.* quiver

pictus -a -um *adj.* (ppl of vb.

pingō) painted, coloured

pilentum -ī *n.* carriage

pinguis -e *adj.* rich, fertile

pius -a -um *adj.* good (84 n.)

placidus -a -um *adj.* pleasant,
 calm, tranquil

planta -ae *f.* (sole of) foot

plausus -ūs *m.* applause

plēnus -a -um *adj.* full

plūrimus -a -um *adj.*, *superl.* of
multus very many, most

plūs plūris *adj.* and **plūs** *adv.* more

pōculum -ī *n.* cup

poena -ae *f.* penalty

poliō -ire -ivī politum polish, give
 finishing touches to

pōnō -ere posuī positum place,
 put (down), lay aside

pōns pontis *m.* bridge

pōpuleus -a -um *adj.* (made of)
 poplar

pōpulus -ī *f.* poplar tree

pōpulus -ī *m.* people (*collectively*)

porca -ae *f.* sow

porgō -ere (274) = **porrigō** hold
 out

porta -ae *f.* gate

portentum -ī *n.* portent

porticus -ūs *f.* portico, colonnade

poscō -ere demand, challenge

possum posse potuī be able

post *prep* + *acc.* after;

adv. afterwards

postis -is *m.* door-post, door

postquam *conj.* after, when

potentia -ae *f.* power

praecēdō -ere -cessī -cessum go
 on ahead

praeceps -cipitis *adj.* headlong,
 sheer

praecipitō -āre push forcefully
 away

praecipuus -a -um *adj.* special

praecīsus -a -um adj. cut away,
sheer
praeclārus -a -um adj. famous,
glorious
praeulgēns -entis adj. gleaming
brightly
praesēns praesentis adj. present,
immediate
praestāns -stantis adj. excellent
praetendō -ere hold out
praetereā adv. furthermore
praeteritus -a -um adj. past
**precēs -um f.pl. (sing. prex not
found)** prayer
precor -ārī pray
premō -ere pressī pressum press,
harass, crush
primum adv. for the first time
primus -a -um adj. first
prior -us adj. earlier, first (of two)
priscus -a -um adj. ancient
proavus -ī m. great-grandfather,
ancestor
prō prep. + abl. in proportion to, in
place of, on behalf of, in front of
procerēs -um m.pl. the principal
men
procul adv. far away
prōcumbō -ere prōcubū lie down
prōdigium -ī n. marvel, monster
proelium -ī n. battle (three
syllables)
profectō adv. indeed, for sure
proficiscor -ī profectus sum set
out, be descended from (51)
profugus -a -um adj. fleeing or as
noun refugee
prōgredior -ī -gressus sum move
forward
prōlēs -is f. offspring

prōmittō -ere -misi
-misum promise, offer
prōnus -a -um adj. leaning forward
prope compar. propior adj. and
propius adv. near, nearer
properō -āre tr. and intr. hurry,
hasten
propinquō -āre + dat. approach
prōra -ae f. prow
prōspectus -ūs m. sight
prōtegō -ere -tēxī -tēctum protect
prōtinus adv. straightaway; directly
on (from)
prōtrahō -ere -traxī -tractum drag
out
**proximus -a -um adj. (superl. of
prope)** nearest
pūbēs -is f. the adult population,
'manpower'
puer -ī m. boy
pugna -ae f. fight, battle
pugnō -āre -āvī -ātum fight
**pulcher -chra -chrum adj., with
superl. pulcherrimus** beautiful
pulvereus -a -um adj. dusty
puppis -is f. stern (of a ship), ship
putō -āre think, calculate
putris -e adj. crumbling, dusty
quā adv. interrog. by what route?
rel. where
quadrīga -ae f. a four-house chariot
quadripedāns -antis adj. galloping,
'four footed'
quaerō -ere quaesivī
quaesitum seek, ask
quaesō (only in pres.) I beg
quālis -e adj. like, such as
quam adv. as, than;
quam multī how many!
quamvis conj. even though

quandō *conj.* when, since
quantum *adv.* as much as ...
quantus -a -um *adj.* how great
 (? and !)
quārē *conj.* for this reason
quatiō -ere (-) quassum shake
quattuor four
-que *conj.* and
quercus -ūs *f.* oak tree
querēla -ae complaint, plaintive
 sound
quī quae quod cūius *pron.* who, which,
also adj. what, which (? and !)
quia *conj.* because
quicumque quaecumque
quodcumque *pron.* whoever,
 whatever
quiēs quiētis *f.* rest, sleep
quīn *conj.* so that ... not (148)
quīn etiam *conj.* what is more
quis quid cūius *pron.* (i) (question)
 who? what? (395 **quid** = why?)
 (ii) (*indef.*) anyone, anything
quisquam quicquam *pron.*
 (not) anyone, anything
quisque quidque *pron.* each
quisquis quicquid *pron.* whoever,
 whatever
quīvis quaevis quodvis *pron.* any
 ('any you care to name')
quō *adv.* where to? whither?
quod *conj.* because, that
quondam *adv.* formerly, once
quoniam *conj.* because, since
quoque *adv.* also
rabiēs -ēī *f.* madness
radiō -āre radiate, shine
radius -ī *m.* ray, spoke, shaft
rādix -īcis *f.* root
rāmus -ī *m.* branch

rapidus -a -um rapid, speedy
rapīna -ae *f.* theft
rapiō -ere rapuī raptum seize,
 grasp, hurry
raptō -āre carry away, drag along
raptor -ōris *m.* plunderer
rārus -a -um *adj.* scattered
ratiō -ōnis *f.* method, resource
ratis -is *f.* ship
raucus -a -um *adj.* harsh
recēns recentis *adj.* fresh
recessus -ūs *m.* recess, distance
 back
reclūdō -ere open up
recoctus -a -um *adj.* refined
recognōscō -ere review, inspect
recordor -ārī remember
rēctor -ōris *m.* ruler
rēctus -a -um *adj.* straight; 209:
 facing ahead
recubō -āre lie, recline
reddō -ere reddidī
redditum return, give back
redeō -īre rediī reditum return,
 come/ go back
redūcō -ere draw fully back (of an
 oar)
reductus -a -um *adj.* secluded
referō referre rettulī
relātum bring back, reply, bring
 back as (343)
reflectō -ere -flexī -flexum bend
 back
refluō -ere flow back, settle back
refulgeō -ēre gleam (with reflected
 light)
rēgia -ae *f.* palace
rēgīna -ae *f.* queen
regiō -ōnis *f.* region
rēgnātor -ōris *m.* ruler
rēgnum -ī *n.* kingdom

- regō -ere** rule
religiō -ōnis *f.* sense of awe
relinquō -ere -liqui -lictum
tr. leave
reliquiae -ārum *f.pl.* remains
rēmigiū -ī *n.* (crew of) oarsmen,
oars, rowing
rēmus -ī *m.* oar
repente *adv.* suddenly
repercutiō -ere -cussi
-cussum reflect
repōnō -ere put back, put down
reposcō -ere demand (the return of)
requiēs -ētis *f.* rest
rēs rēi *f.* thing, matter, property;
‘reality’
reserō -āre unlock
reservō -āre keep back
residō -ere -sēdi -sessum sit
(back) down
resolvō -ere loosen, untie
respicō -ere look back at, heed
resultō -āre echo, reverberate
retineō -ēre hold back
retorqueō -ēre -torsī -tortum fling
back
revehō -ere bring back
revellō -ere -velli -vulsi
-vulsum tear down
revīsō -ere revisit, rejoin
rēx rēgis *m.* king
rigeō -ēre be rigid
rīma -ae *f.* cleft, fissure
rīpa -ae *f.* (river-)bank
rīte *adv.* properly, in due form
rīvus -ī *m.* stream, channel
rōbur rōboris *n.* oak
rogō -āre ask (for), request
rōrō -āre drip
rōstrātus -a -um *adj.* equipped
with ship’s prow
rōstrum -ī *n.* ship’s prow
rota -ae *f.* wheel
ruber rubra rubrum *adj.* red
rubescō -ere turn red
rudō -ere bellow
ruīna -ae *f.* destruction
rūmor -ōris *m.* sound
rumpō -ere rūpi ruptum break,
interrupt, disturb
ruō -ere hurry, come crashing
down
rūpēs -is *f.* cliff
rutilō -āre glow red
rutilus -a -um *adj.* glowing
sacer sacra sacrum *adj.* sacred;
accursed
sacerdōs -ōtis *m. & f.* priest(ess)
sacrō -āre -āvī -ātum dedicate,
consecrate
sacrum -ī *n.* as noun ritual
saec(u)lum -ī *n.* age, period,
generation
saepe and saepē *comp*
saepius often
saeta -ae *f.* bristle
saeviō -īre rage
saevus -a -um *adj.* dreadful
sagitta -ae *f.* arrow
sagittifer -a -um *adj.* arrow-
bearing
sagulum -ī *n.* little cloak
saltus -ūs *m.* jump
salūs -ūtis *f.* safety, survival
salvē imper. from *salvēō (not
found) hail!
sānctus -a -um *adj.* sacred, holy
sanguineus -a -um *adj.* blood-red
sanguis sanguinis *m.* blood
saniēs (-ēi) *f.* pus
saturō -āre fill, satiate

satus -a -um *adj.* (*pl* of **serō**) 'descended from'
saxeus -a -um *adj.* rocky
saxum -ī n. rock
scelus sceleris n. crime, wickedness
scēptrum -ī n. sceptre
scindō -ere divide, tear
scopulus -ī m. crag
scūtum -ī n. shield
scyphus -ī m. a type of large cup
sē (or sēsē 225, 547) suī sibi (or sibi) sē *pron.* him/her/itself, themselves
secō -āre secuī sectum cut
sēcrētus -a -um *adj.* secret, private, set apart
sēcum (sē) with him/herself, themselves
secundus -a -um *adj.* supporting, favourable, second
secus *adv.* otherwise (243: **non secus ac**: not otherwise than, i.e. 'just like')
sed *conj.* but
sedeō -ēre sit
sēdēs -is f. place, home, settlement
sedile -is n. seat
segnis -e *adj.* sluggish, idle
sēmēsus -a -um *adj.* half-eaten
sēmifer -a -um *adj.* half-wild beast
sēmihomo -hominis m. half-human
semper *adv.* always
senātus -ūs m. senate
senectūs -ūtis f. old age
senex senis m. old man
senior -ōris *adj.*, *no neuter* aged
sentiō -īre sēnsī sēnsū feel, notice
septēni -ae -a *adj.* seven
sequāx -ācis *adj.* pursuing

sequor -ī secūtus sum follow, make for
serēnus -a -um *adj.* clear, cloudless
sermō -ōnis m. conversation
serō -ere sēvī satum sow, beget
serpēns -entis m. snake
sērus -a -um *adj.* late
servō -āre save, rescue, keep up
sevērus -a -um *adj.* strict, severe
sī *conj.* if, if only (560)
sīc *adv.* thus
siccus -a -um dry
sīcut *conj.* just as
sīdus -eris n. star, constellation
signum -ī n. sign, (military) standard
silex -icis f. rock
silva -ae f. wood
silvestris -e *adj.* of woodland
similis -e *adj.* similar
simul *adv.* at the same time
sīn *conj.* but if
sine *prep.* + *abl.* without
singuli -ae -a *adj.* individual (people, things)
sinus -ūs m. fold, bay
sistrum -ī n. sistrum, Egyptian percussion instrument
sistō -ere position, bring to a halt
socius -a -um *adj.* allied, *or as noun* ally, friend, companion
sōl sōlis m. sun
sōlācium -ī n. comfort, consolation
solitus -a -um *adj.* accustomed
solium -ī n. throne, chair
sollemnis -e *adj.* proper, solemn, 'due'
solum -ī n. ground
sōlus -a -um *gen. sōlius* *adj.* only, alone

solvō -ere solvī solūtum loosen,
 detach
somnus -ī m. sleep
sonitus -ūs m. sound
sōpītus -a -um adj. sleeping
sopor -ōris m. slumber
soror -ōris f. sister
sortior -irī sortītus sum allocate
sospes sospitis adj. safe and sound
spargō -ere sparsī sparsum spatter,
 sprinkle, scatter
spectō -āre gaze at, examine, try
 out
specus -ūs m. cave
spēlunca -ae f. cave
spēs spēi f. hope, outlook
spīrō -āre breathe
spolia -ōrum n.pl. spoils (of victory)
spūmō -āre foam
squama -ae f. scale (of snake)
stabula -ōrum n.pl. stopping-place
stāgnum -ī n. still water, pool, lake
statuō -ere statuī establish
sternō -ere strāvī strātum tr. spread
 out, lay down, lay low, cover
stirps -is f. stock, root
stō stāre stetī statum stand
strāta -ōrum n.pl. bedclothes
streptus -ūs m. noise
strepō -ere strepuī make a (harsh)
 noise
strictūra -ae f. ingot
strīdō -ere hiss
stringō -ere strīnxī strictum skim,
 brush
struō -ere construct, contrive
stuppeus -a -um adj. made of tow
sub prep. + acc. & abl. under, down
 in; + *acc.* down to, below
subeō -īre subīī come into,
 approach

subigō -ere -ēgī compel
subitus -a -um adj. sudden,
 unexpected; *adv.*
subitō suddenly
sublātus see tollō
subligō -āre tie
subsistō -ere substitī pause, stop
 short
subter prep. + acc. beneath
subvehō -ere subvēxī
subvēctum convey (upstream)
succēdō -ere come in, succeed to
sūdus -a -um adj. clear, bright (of
 the sky)
sum esse fuī I am, to be, *etc*
summoveō -ēre -mōvī -mōtum
tr. move away, move to a distance
summus -a -um adj. highest,
 highest part of
super prep. + acc. & abl. above;
adv. (from) above; 251 =
supererat 'remained'
superbus -a -um adj. proud,
 arrogant
superī -ōrum m.pl. those above,
 the gods
superō -āre tr. and intr. overcome,
 surpass
superstitiō -ōnis f. superstition
supersum -esse -fuī survive
supplex -icis adj. humble, begging;
as noun, a suppliant
supplicium -ī n. punishment,
 execution
suprā adv. above
suprēmus -a -um adj. last
surgō -ere surrēxī
surrēctum stand up, rise
sūs suis f. sow
suscitō -āre arouse

suspendō -ere -pendī

-**pēnsūm** hang; 190: build as a vault

suspiciō -ere look upward

sustineō -ēre hold up, lift, support

suus -a -um adj. ('belonging to the subject of the sentence/clause')

tābūm -ī n. purefaction, decay

tacitus -a -um adj. quiet

tālis -e adj. such

tam adv. so

tamen conj. nevertheless

tandem adv. at last

tantum adv. only

tantus -a -um adj. so great

tardus -a -um adj. slow, sluggish

taurus -ī m. bull

tēctum -ī n. roof, house

tegō -ere tēxī tēctum cover, shelter

tellūs -ūris f. land

tēlum -ī n. weapon, missile

templum -ī n. temple, shrine

temptāmentum -ī n. experiment, trial

temptō -āre attempt, make an attempt on

tempus -oris (1) n. time

tempus -oris (2) n. temple (of the head)

tenāx -ācis adj. tenacious, gripping

tendō -ere (1) intr. move, head (for)

tendō -ere (2) live in tents, be in camp

tenebrae -ārum f.pl. darkness

teneō -ēre tenuī hold, keep

tenuis -e adj. slender, humble

tepeō -ēre be warm

tepidus -a -um adj. warm

ter adv. three times

teres terētis adj. smooth, supple

tergeminus -a -um adj. triple

tergum -ī n. back, hide (of animal)

ternī -ae -a adj. three at a time, a set of three

terra -ae f. earth, ground;
pl. the world

terreō -ēre terruī terrify

terribilis -e adj. terrible

terrificus -a -um adj. terrifying

terror -ōris m terror

testor -ārī call to witness; testify

textum -ī n. structure, fabric

thalamus -ī m. bridal chamber

timeō -ēre fear

timor -ōris m. fear

tingō -ere tīnxī tīnctum moisten

tolerō -āre bear, support

tollō -ere sustulī sublātum raise, remove

tonitrus -ūs m. thunder

tonō -āre tonuī thunder

tormentum -ī n. torture

torqueō -ēre torsī tortum twist, spin, hurl

torreō -ēre torruī tostum scorch, roast

tortus *see torqueō*

torus -ī m. cushion

tot adv. so many

totidem indecl. adj. the same number of times

tōtus -a -um tōtius adj. whole, all of

trahō -ere traxī tractum drag, draw

tremendus -a -um adj. dreadful

tremō -ere tremuī tremble at (+ *acc.*)

tremulus -a -um adj. trembling, quivering

trepidō -āre panic
trepidus -a -um *adj.* agitated
trēs tria *adj.* three
tridēns -dentis *adj.* three pronged
trīgintā *adj.* (*indeclinable*) thirty
triplex triplicis *adj.* triple
trīstis -e *adj.* grim, gloomy
triumphus -ī *m.* triumph
truncus -ī *m.* tree-trunk
tū tē (tuī) tibi or **tibī tē** you (*sing.*)
tuba -ae *f.* trumpet
tueor -ēri gaze at
tuli *see ferō*
tum *adv.* then ('at that time' or 'next')
tumeō -ēre be swollen, run high
tumidus -a -um *adj.* swelling
tumor -ōris *m.* 'swelling rage'
tumultus -ūs *m.* commotion, confusion
tumulus -ī *m.* mound
tunc *adv.* then, at that time
tunica -ae *f.* tunic
turba -ae *f.* crowd, mass
turbō -āre confuse, upset, arouse
turrītus -a -um *adj.* constructed with towers
tūs tūris *m.* incense
tūtus -a -um protected, safe
tuus -a -um *adj.* your (*sing.*)
tyrannus -ī *m.* tyrant

über -is *n.* teat
ubi *conj.* *interrog.* where?
rel: when, where
ullus -a -um ullius *adj.* any
ultimus -a -um *adj.* furthest
ultor -ōris *m.* avenger
ultrō *adv.* unasked
umbra -ae *f.* shade
umbrōsus -a -um shadowy

umerus -ī *m.* shoulder
umquam *adv.* ever
ūnā *adv.* together (with)
ūnctus -a -um *adj., ppl of*
ūngō waxed
unda -ae *f.* water, wave
unde *adv. interrog. and rel.* from where (?) whence (?)
undique *adv.* on/from all sides
unguis -is *m.* nail, claw
ungula -ae *f.* hoof
ūnus -a -um ūnūs or **ūnūs**
adj. one
urbs urbis *f.* city
ursa -ae *f.* she-bear
usquam *adv.* anywhere
ūsus -ūs *m.* use, need (440n.)
ut *conj.* (1) (+ *subj.*) (i) so that (ii) *in indirect question* how (2) (+ *indic.*) as, when (3) *exclamatory adv.* how! (154)

vādō -ere go, walk, stride
vadum -ī *n.* (shallow) water
valeō -ēre be strong, be able
validus -a -um strong, mighty
vallis -is *f.* valley
vānus -a -um *adj.* empty, useless
varius -a -um *adj.* various, varied
vastō -āre devastate
vastus -a -um *adj.* monstrous, desolate
vātēs -is *m. and f.* prophet, seer
-ve *conj.* or
vehō -ere vēxī vectum convey
vellō -ere rip (apart, down)
vēlō -āre cover, shade
vēlum -ī *n.* sail
vēnātus -ūs *m.* hunting
veniō -īre vēnī ventum come
ventōsus -a -um *adj.* windy

- ventus -ī m.** wind
vepris is f. thorn bush
verbum -ī n. word
verō adv. indeed
verrō -ere sweep, thresh
versō -āre turn, direct
vertō -ere vertī versum turn, change, twist
vertex verticis m. head, top
vērus -a -um adj. true, genuine
vescor -ī + abl. feed on
vester -tra -trum adj. your ('of you' *pl.*)
vestigium -ī n. footprint, trace
vestiō -īre clothe, cover
vestis -is f. clothing
vetō -āre forbid
vetus veteris adj. old
vetustus -a -um adj. old, ancient
via -ae f. way, route
vibrō -āre to make (something) quiver, to hurl, shoot
victor -ōris m. conqueror
victus -ūs m. food, way of living
videō -ēre vīdī vīsum see; *pass.*
videor appear, seem
viduō -āre bereave
villōsus -a -um adj. shaggy
vincō -ere vīcī victum conquer, defeat
vinculum -ī (vinclum) n. bond, restraint
vīnum -ī n. wine
vir virī m. man; *gen. pl.* **virum**
virgātus -a -um adj. striped
viridis -e adj. green
virtūs -ūtis f. courage, excellence
vīs vim, -, vī, vīrēs, vīrium, vīribus f. force
viscera -um n. pl. flesh
vīsō -ere visit
vīsus -ūs m. sight
vīta -ae f. life
vitta -ae f. (ritual) woollen band
vīvō -ere vīxī live
vīvus -a -um adj. living
vix adv. scarcely
vocō -āre call, call on
volātilis -e adj. flying
volitō -āre flutter
volō velle voluī wish
volō -āre fly, move fast
volucer -cris -cre adj. flying
volucris -is f. bird
voluptās -ātis f. pleasure, delight
volvō -ere roll
vomō -ere spew out, spout
vōs vōs (vestrum) vōbīs pron. you (*pl.*)
vōtum -ī n. vow, offering
vōx vōcis f. voice, word
vulgō -āre make (sg.) public
vulnerō -āre wound
vulnificus -a -um adj. wound-making
vultus -ūs m. expression